

A N
A N S W E R
T O A
L E T T E R
T O A
D I S S E N T E R,
Upon Occasion of
His Majesties
Late Gracious
D E C L A R A T I O N
O F
I N D U L G E N C E.

By Sir *ROGER L'ESTRANGE*, Knight.

L O N D O N,
Printed for *R. Sare* at *Grays-Inn-Gate* in *Holborn*, 1687.

101-271A

101-271A

A N
A N S W E R
T O A
L E T T E R to a Dissenter, &c.

After many a Thought upon a Late Paper, Entitled [*A Letter to a Dissenter, &c.*] I am come to This Resolution within my self : First, That it both Requires, and Deserves a *Thorough-Answer*. 2ly. That No man can so Properly Speak to't, as a *True Son of the Church of England*; for I take it to be his Province, and Duty, in so Peculiar a manner, that such a Person, if Competently Qualify'd for That Office, can hardly Expect his *Mothers Blessing*, without saying somewhat upon This Subject, in her *Vindication*. By a *Thorough-Answer*, I mean, the Taking of the Letter Paragraph by Paragraph, and speaking to the *Whole*, and to Every Part of it; all under one. My Course, I know, lyes betwixt *Two Rocks*; where 'tis Odds, that a man either *dashes Upon* One of them, or is *Crush'd* to pieces *Betwixt* them. But He that is in his Duty, is never out of his Way. So that being Fully Satisfy'd already in the *Main*, my Next Care must be, not to Transgress in the *Manner* of my Proceeding : Wherein I Propose to Deliver my Thoughts, Plainly, and without Disguise; And not to Depart, in the Least Scruple, from the Rules of *Charity, Moderation, Truth, and Candor*; Nor (so far as my Understanding will serve me) from the *Dignity and Character* of my *Profession*. I will not go behind the Door neither, to Conceal my *Name*; for I have liv'd *Open* and *Barefac'd* a Long Time, and, by the Grace of God, I will not Dye in a *Disguise*. Briefly, I shall take the Freedom to *Speak* what I *Think*, without either *Vanity*, or *Insolence*; and make as *Modest* an Use of a *Common Liberty*, (with

leave

leave for the Comparison) as any Other of His Majesties Subjects whatsoever. And when I shall have done with the Publique Part of This Discourse, I shall bestow a Few Pages upon a *Postscript* for my self.

The Letter it self is Address'd to a Dissenter; and why may not My Answer be Address'd to a Dissenter too? For there's a Parity of Reason, Indifferently, in Both Cases, where the Two Parties Respectively Concerned, are not Both of a Mind. Beside, that by This Means, I have an Introduction, ready to my hand here over and above: for the First Paragraph will serve the Answerers Purpose, as well as it did the Authors; And since I cannot Greet him in Better Words, I shall do it so far in his Own.

A Letter to a Dissenter, &c.

S I R,

Letter.

Since Addressee is in fashion, give me leave to make one to you. This is neither the Effect of Fear, Interest, or Resentment; therefore you may be sure it is sincere: and for that reason it may expect to be kindly received. Whether it will have power enough to Convince, dependeth upon the Reasons, of which you are to judge; and upon your preparation of Mind, to be perswaded by Truth, whenever it appeareth to you. It ought not to be the less welcom, for coming from a friendly hand, one whose kindness to you is not lessened by difference of Opinion, and who will not let his thoughts for the Publick be so tyed or confined to this or that Sub-division of Protestants, as to stifle the Charity, which besides all other Arguments, is at this time become necessary to preserve us.

Answer.

I Can with a very Good Conscience put my hand to This Preface; for I have really All Those Peaceable and Compassionate Dispositions about me, at This Instant, that the very Author of the Letter would be thought to have; so that we may proceed, I think, without any more Ceremony.

Letter.

I am neither surprized nor provoked, to see that in the condition you were put into by the Laws, and the ill circumstances you lay under, by having the Exclusion and Rebellion laid to your Charge, you were desirous to make your selves less uneasy and obnoxious to Authority. Men who are sore, run to the nearest Remedy with too much haste, to consider all the con-

consequences: Grains of allowance are to be given, where Nature giveth such strong Influences. When to Men under Sufferings it offereth Ease, the present Pain will hardly allow time to examine the Remedies; and the strongest Reason can hardly gain a fair Audience from our Mind, whilst so possessed, till the smart is a little allayed.

Here's a Plain, and a Short Proverb, that may serve for a *Answer*. *Paraphrase* upon This Clause. [*Out of the Frying-Pan into the Fire.*] The *Dissenters*, it seems, were *Uneasy* under the *Penal Laws*; *Unsafe* under Certain *Criminal Imputations*; And, in This Distress, like Drowning Men, they laid hold of Any thing that came next to Hand; Mistook their Way and their Measures, for want of Time to Look before they Leapt. The Author of the Letter fancies them in a Streight; And then to Deliver them from a Calamity of his Own Creating, Charitably puts in, and Pities them; Supposes some very Dangerous Miscarriage; Assigns the Reason of it, and at the Same Time Furnishes the Excuse. The *Innuendo* of the Whole is Briefly This, that *Matters are in an Evil State*, and that the *Severities of the Government have been the Cause* on't; which are Two Dangerous Points to be Injected into Peoples Heads at This Time of the day: But, This is only an Artificial Preparatory to make way for Somewhat more Considerable that is to follow. He speaks of the *Dissenters* running to the Nearest Remedy; which, Under favour, is a Mistake, if he Means the King's Declaration of Indulgence; for That Remedy came to Them. And so in his Following *Allegory*. If it holds in State, as it does in Physick, the Patient is not to Examine the Remedy, but to Observe the Prescription. And now to the Next Paragraph.

I do not know whether the Warmth that naturally belongeth to New Letter. Friendships may not make it a Harder Task for me to persuade you. It is like telling Lovers, in the Beginning of their Joys, that they will in a Little Time have an End. Such an unwelcome Style doth not easily find Credit: But I will suppose you are not so far gone in your New Passion, but that you will Hear still; and therefore I am under the Less Discouragement, when I offer to your Consideration Two Things. The First is, the Cause you have to suspect your New Friends. The Second, the Duty incumbent upon you, in Christianity and Prudence, not to Hazard the Publick Safety, neither by Desire of Ease, nor of Revenge.

We

Answer.

WE are here Past Insensibly, and in the Course of Six Lines from the Present Compliances of the *Dissenters*, Purely for the Sake of *Ease* and *Security*, to the *Warmth* of a *New-Friendship*, and of a *New Passion* ; which is such a kind of Leap, as if a *Cripple*, for being delivered from the *Lash*, should fall in love with the *Beadle*. I must needs take Notice now, in This Place, by Anticipation, of a Passage in the Next Clause, where the Gentleman tells the *Dissenters*, that [*These New Friends did not make them their Choice but their Refuge* ;] Which Implies, that the *Roman Catholics* have not half the Kindness for the *Dissenters*, that the *Dissenters* have for the *Roman Catholics* : For at the rate of [*the Warmth of This New Friendship*] and This [*New Passion*,] the *Dissenters* must be understood to make the *Roman Catholics* rather their *Choice*, than their *Refuge*. So that according to this Proportion of Reasoning, the *Dissenters* must Relinquish, both their *Interest* and *Inclination*, or there's No Good to be done upon them. But however, If they be not either too *Sturdy*, or too *Stately*, to Harken to Reason, Here are Two Proposals laid before them : The One, of *Caution*, Founded upon [*the Cause they have to suspect their New Friends* :] The Other, of *Duty*, both in *Christianity* and *Prudence*, not to Sacrifice the *Publick Peace*, either to their *Ease*, or *Revenge*. Here is, in these Two Propositions, not only Subject-Matter for the kindling of *Jealousies*, and for the Irritating of *Fears*, and *Apprehensions* in the Consequences of Things ; But *Misunderstandings Dictated*, and *Inculcated* in Express Terms, which cannot possibly fail of moving *Unquiet Thoughts*, and of Dissolving the Common Ties of *Faith*, *Friendship*, and *Allegiance*, by making *Parties* and *Factions* ; and stirring *Animosities* among the Kings Good Subjects.

To speak One Word now to the Duty of Consulting the *Publick Safety*, the Question will be shortly this, Whether the Blessed end of *Peace*, with a Respect to *Civil Matters*, (for here's no talk of *Religion*) be not more likely to be *Compass'd* and *Preserv'd*, by *Uniting* His Majesties Liege People, than by *Dividing* them ? It is time now to go forward to the *Animadversions*, and *Reasonings* that the Ingenious Author shall be pleas'd to Pass upon his Two Last Heads.

Letter.

To the First : Consider, that notwithstanding the Smooth Language which is now put on to Engage you, These new Friends did not make you their Choice, but their Refuge : They have ever made their
First

First Courtships to the Church of England; and when they were rejected there, they made their Application to you in the Second Place. The Instances of This might be given in All Times. I do not Repeat them, because whatsoever is Unnecessary, must be Tedious; the Truth of this Assertion being so Plain, as not to admit a Dispute. You cannot therefore reasonably Flatter your selves, that there is any Inclination to You. They never pretended to Allow You any Quarter, but to Offer in Liberty for Themselves, under That Shelter. I refer you to Mr. Coleman's Letters, and the Journals of Parliament, where you may be Convinced, if you can be so Mistaken, as to Doubt. Nay, at this very Hour, they can hardly forbear, in the height of their Courtship, to let fall Hard Words of you. So little is Nature to be restrained: It will start out some times, disdaining to submit to the Usurpation of Art and Interest.

WE are left mightily in the Dark here, how to understand his *Answer*. [Smooth Language] and his [New Friends;] Where we are to Look for the One, and How we are to Distinguish the Other. If his Meaning be, that the Roman Catholiques are making Fair Weather with the Dissenters, and withal, that the Dissenters are to Blame to Close with them, he should do well to have a Care of his Characters; for a Man can very hardly Reflect a Scandal upon the Whole Party, without wounding their Head and Master. I would fain know, if the King Himself does not fall within the Compass of One of Those New Friends; or rather how it is possible it should be Otherwise, without a Particular Saving and Exception out of That Number. He speaks of Those New Friends that have ever made their First Courtships to the Church of England. I would he had but told us Where, When, and How; Or what Commission they had for the making of These Overtures from One Community to Another: But whether they Did, or whether they did Not, comes all to a Case, tho for the sake of Truth and Justice, I must needs say that [EVER] goes a little too far: For in That Great Revolution of the Long Rebellion, the Members of the Church of England joyned in a Common Act of Prudence, Interest, and Conscience, to Meet them Half Way: Or if there were any Priority of Respect in the Matter, it was on the Church of England's Side. I speak of the Old Rebellion, when the Members of Both Churches felt by the Sides One of Another in the Common Defence of their Prince, and their Country; their Honour and their Allegiance.

But

But when the *Roman Catholiques* were rejected there, they made their Application to the *Dissenters* in the Second Place, he says; and made them not their *Choice*, but their *Refuge*, without any Inclination for them at all. Well! And whether the *Church of England-Men* Reject the *Roman Catholiques*, or the *Roman Catholiques* Reject the *Church of England-Men*, 'tis just as Broad as it is Long; for Whethersoever of the Two stands in need of a Third Interest; 'Tis not the *Orthodoxy* of the *Perswasion*, but the *Strength* of the *Allye* that He considers: And what matters it for an *Inclination* of *Kindness*, where *Necessity* Creates an *Inclination* that does the Office of an Inclination by *Nature*? What's more Ordinary, than for Two Mortal Enemies to Joyn in a Common Defence, for the Mutual Preservation One of Another? And I never met with any Man yet since I was born, that made it a *Casual Point*, Whether a Man might Lawfully submit, to have his *Life*, *Liberty*, and *Fortune*, Preserved by a Man of *Another Opinion*. This Gentleman tells the *Dissenters* that the *Papists* have No *Kindness* for them, and that they are not their *Choice*, but their *Refuge*. Now if This be *Our Author's Own Case*, (as by the Ayre of his Paper it appears to be) the Argument that he has Advanc'd against the *New Friends*, as he Calls them, holds Every Jot as good against Himself: And the *Dissenters*, with whom he has to do, have All-out as good Reason to Suspect the *One*, as the *Other*. He is pleas'd to Appeal to *Coleman's Letters*, and the *Parliament Journals*, though the *One* makes not at all for him, and the *Other* seems in some Respects to be Point-Blank Against him. *Coleman's Business* was a *Common Liberty*, without Meditating any Act of *Violence* or *Subversion*. And then if the *Journals* be set One against Another, and a Design of *Uniting Protestants* in a General License, oppos'd to the *Uniting of Protestants*, in a strict Conformity to the *Rubrick* and *Canons*, they will do the Cause that This Gentleman has a-foot, at least as much Hurt as Good. What signifies the following Objection, that [*the Papists can hardly forbear in the height of their Courtships to let fall Hard Words of the Dissenters*,] If this Gentleman, even in the Height of his Courtship, finds himself apt to Speak, or to Think *Hardly* of them too? He says Extremely Well at last, in Contemplation of the Difficulty of Restraining *Nature*, [*She Disdains* (he says) to submit to the *Usurpation of Art and Interest*.] This he Says, and This he Proves, in the same *Breath*, and *Paper*; for in despite of All the *Art*, and *Interest* of This Discourse, his *Inclination* shews it self, and his *Nature* breaks through the Disguise.

This

This Alliance between Liberty and Infallibility, is bringing together Letter. the Two most contrary things that are in the World. The Church of Rome doth not only dislike the allowing Liberty, but by its Principles it cannot do it. Wine is not more expressly forbidden to the Mahometans, than giving Hereticks, Liberty, is to Papists: They are no more able to make good their Vows to you, than Men Married before, and their Wife alive, can confirm their Contract with another. The Continuance of their Kindness would be a Habit of Sin, of which they are to Repent, and their Absolution is to be had upon no other Terms, than their Promise to destroy you. You are therefore to be Hugged now, only that you may be the better Squeezed at another time. There must be something Extraordinary, when the Church of Rome setteth up Bills, and offereth Plaisters, for Tender Consciences: By all that hath hitherto appeared, her Skill in Chirurgery lyeth chiefly in a Quick Hand, to cut off Limbs; but she is the worst at Healing, of any that ever pretended to it.

Here's a Splendid, and a Fallacious Amusement, in the First Line; *Answer.* and it is Plausibly enough Pursued too; but Inevitably attended with the Fate of All Things that are Built upon a False Bottom. Supposing [LIBERTY,] and [INFALLIBILITY,] as the Matter is here set forth, and Assum'd, to be the Present Point before us, upon a Question of Competition, or Consistence. Upon this Supposal, I say, All the Following Cost, and Figure, for the Dazling of Weak Eyes, and the Transporting of Impotent Affections, is very well Bestowed upon it: But if Liberty and Infallibility shall fall out in This Case, to be Nothing a-kin; The One, to be a Civil Point; The Other, a Religious; And the One, in short, to Differ as much from the Other, as Doctrine does from Practice, or the Exercise of a Secular Power, from a Theological Perswasion; Why then This Liberty, and Infallibility, Truly Understood, and Rightly Distinguished, may very well stand together, and the Holding of the One Opinion, does not at all Clash with Permitting the Exercise of the Other. This Specious Sparkling Way of Reasoning will have little more in't at last, than what we see Every Day in the Skill and Address of Bird-catching, where the Twinkling of the Glass brings the Lark Dancing down into the Net.

A Man that would put his Thoughts, and his Wits upon the Stretch, might Enlarge till Doomsday, upon the Text of LIBERTY and INFALLIBILITY. But I am for speaking Plain, Home, and in Few Words, to the Stress of the Subject in hand, rather than squandering

ring away more Time and Paper than needs, in Talking it out at Length.

The *Roman-Catholique-INFALLIBILITY*, and the *Dissenters LIBERTY* are the Two Hinges of the Controversie here in Debate. Put them On, Right, and the Door Opens, or Shuts, with All the Ease in the World; But if This Gentleman will needs set them on a-Cross, and then Exclayne against them as [*the most Contrary Things in the World*] when it is the Fault of the *Workman*, not of the *Hinges*, that the One Hinders the Other, from doing its *Proper Office*. What help for't! This is an Error in the *Speculation* of the Thing, that we see Dayly *Disprov'd*, and *Contradicted*, in *Fact*; And it must be a very *Gross Partiality*, that shall take upon it self to support *Fancy* against *Experiment*. Now if the *Liberty*, and *Infallibility* here *Represented*, *Intended*, and *Designed*, be quite Another Thing than the *Liberty*, and *Infallibility* that lies Naturally within the Compass of *This Question*, all the *Flowers* that are here Employed for the *Recommending*, and the *Garnishing* of *This Topique*, how Artificially soever, must not be Allowed to come up yet to the Least Colour of a *Conclusion*, or an *Argument*, for any thing that hitherto appears.

The First Query toward the Discussing of This Question, will, in One Word, be *This*. What does This Gentleman mean by [*LIBERTY*?] Why does he not give some *Standard* of it? Is it a *Determinate*, or an *Unlimited Liberty*? Why is it not *Ascertain'd*, that a Body may see *Thorough* it? For how shall any Man take upon him to make a *Reasonable Discourse*, upon an *Unknown Meaning*? If he Means *Liberty of CONSCIENCE*, with a Respect to the Present Circumstances of the *Dissenters*; His Majesties Gracious Declaration of *April* the 4th. Last Past, will most Explicitly Adjust *That Point*, in These Following Words:

We have thought fit, by Vertue of our ROYAL PREROGATIVE, to Issue forth This our Declaration of Indulgence.

So that it is a *Liberty*, Granted by *Vertue*, and in the *Right* of His Majesties *ROYAL PREROGATIVE*: A *Civil Liberty* to Meet for a *Religious Worship*; Or in the Words of the Declaration it self, For [*the Free Exercise of their Religion.*] The Plain *English* of the Case is This; The *Dissenters* find themselves *Aggriev'd* for want of *Liberty of Conscience*: And why? But because they cannot *Meet to Worship God* in their *Assemblies*, as they say, they reckon themselves *Bound* to do. This *Restraint* makes them *Uneasie*; The *Law* lies *Heavy* upon them; and they have no Means of Relief but by the *Kings Suspending* the *Execution* of the Penalties in *That Case Provided*, and Exerting

Exerting His *Sovereign Authority* in Their *Favour*. Now Every Body knows it for a *Principle* that is Rooted in the very *Foundations* of *Government* it self, That *All Publique Assemblies*; That is to say, the *Indicting*, the *Inhibiting*, the *Adjourning*, *Proroguing*, *Continuing*, or *Dissolving* of them, are *Entirely*, and *Incommunicably*, at the *Will*, and *Pleasure* of the *Supreme Magistrate*. The *King*, in the *Right* of This *Power*; *Allows* his *People* to *Meet*, to the *End* that they may *Worship*. The *Dispensation* respects the *Freedom* of *Assembling*, not the *Articles* of every *Particular Congregation's Faith*, or *Creed*. His Majesty Grants *so much*, as by His *Prerogative* he *May*, and *not One jot more*; for *All Humane Acts whatsoever*, are, to *All Purposes Void*, when they come to break in once upon the *Laws* of *God*, and *Nature*: So that here's neither *Ground*, *Place*, nor *Pretence*, for an *Immoral*, or an *Unrighteous Liberty*: And if the *Gentleman*, in This *Paragraph*, speaks of a *Boundless*, and of an *Indefinite Licence*, it neither *IS*, neither *CAN* it be, neither can it be *SUPPOSED* to be, the *Case* that is here in *Agitation*. It Involves a *Nullity*, to *Imagine* it so; and it Imports a *Tacit Censure* of *Authority*, even so much as to *Insinuate* that it was ever *Intended* so: For *No Power upon Earth Can either Discharge*, or so much as *Suspend*, the *Over-ruling Dictates*, and *Sentences*, of *Equity*, and of *Right Reason*. Now 'tis no Wonder, if the *Church of Rome* will never Endure a *Liberty* of This *Latitude*; for neither will any *Christian Church* that ever was upon the *Face* of the *Earth*, Endure it; for it would be *All one* with the *Over-ruling* both of *Law*, and *Gospel*; and the *Destroying* of *Religion* it self, as well as *Christianity* at a *Blow*.

Now if a *Liberty*, in This *Extent* cannot so much as be *Imagin'd*, without a most *Uncharitable*, and a *Dangerous Scandal*; it must, in *Common Honesty*, be taken for *Granted*, that the *Author* of This *Letter* speaks only of a *Liberty*, whithin a *Reasonable*, and a *Christian Compass*: So that to *Acquit* him of the *Calumny*, I find my self *Obliged* to *Mind* him of a *Seeming Contradiction*. There is a *Liberty*, that is *Evil in it self*, with a *Respect* to the *Matter* that it is *Conversant* about: And there is a *Liberty*, that is *Evil*, because it is *Prohibited*. The *Former* is *Indispensable*; and *All* the *Powers* under the *Sun* can never make it *Warrantable*. The *Latter* was left *Indifferent*, till *Authority* *Restrained* it; and the *same Authority* may set it at *Liberty Again*. So that the *Liberty* here spoken of, is an *Allowable Liberty*; That is to say, a *Liberty* totally *Depending* upon the *Political Judgment* of the *Sovereign Magistrate*; Whether to *Grant* it or *Not*; *How Far*; *In What Cases*; *To what Parties*;

Under What *Limitations of Time, or Conditions* : But whether *Allowable, or Not Allowable* ; *Protestants*, it seems, may set up their Rest upon't, that *Hereticks* are to expect *No Quarter* ; *No Liberty*, from *Papists* : Nay our Author is of Opinion, that they esteem Themselves under a most *Conscientious Obligation* to *Destroy Us*. The Late Havock that has been made among the *Protestants* in *France*, Concludes Nothing against the Judgment of the Church of *Rome*, concerning the *Liberties and Privileges* that they Enjoyed there in *Former Times*. To say nothing of the *Freedom* they are Allowed in *Divers Other Places*, where they live *Intermixt*.

There will be *No Great Difficulty*, I hope, to bring the Gentleman to Yield, that the *Fact* is clearly *Against* him ; but if upon the *Penning*, and the *Couching* of This Clause, he had not so Totally Indulgd his *Inclination*, as not to Look Forward into the *Tendency* of his *Discourse* : If, I say, he had not so eagerly *Press'd* and *Pursued* the Point he had in his *Eye*, without Considering *Whither he was a-going*, or the *Precipices* that he had before him, he might have seen more *Hazards* than One, that were likely to *Enfue* upon his taking of *This Bias*. And God Grant, that the Author of This Paper, may not be found to have been One of the Number that has formerly fall'n upon *Mee*, without *Mercy*, for a *Doctrime*, *Injuriously* laid to *My Charge*, and which he himself does Manifestly Enforce, and *Suggest*, in this very *Paragraph*. It made a Heavy Noise for One While, since the Coming of His Sacred Majesty to the Crown, that I should hold forth in an *Observer*, That [*All Subjects were Bound to be of their Princes Religion*] which I never *Wrote*, *Said*, or *Thought*, since I was Born : But I have been, and am still, and I doubt not but that I shall ever be, fully Perswaded, that the *Conscience of Obedience* is the same upon *All Subjects*, let the *Religion* of their *Lawful Sovereign* be what it will : And I say further, that there is a *Religion of Allegiance*, as well as of *Faith*. But to what I was about to say.

Here is a Point Agitated betwixt the Church of *Rome*, and the *Dissenters*, with an Eye to the *Liberty* that the *Latter*, at This Time pretend to, and Enjoy. Now This *Liberty* is an Act of *State* ; And the Church of *Rome* can have Nothing to do with it, any further, than by the *Influence*, which our Author possibly Supposes they may have upon His Majesty : So that there can be *No Unfair Dealing* in the Matter ; but in such a Manner, that, some way or other, Our Master must be made a *Party* to't. The *Dissenters* have a *Common Right* to the *Equity* of His Majesties Gracious Promises, and

and *Assurances*, Exhibited in the Aforesaid Declaration : So that they are *All* as safe, as the Word of a King in a *Royal Act of Grace*, *Sign'd*, *Seal'd*, and *Deliver'd* in the Presence of *God*, *Angels*, and *Men*, can Make 'em. If This be the very State of the Bus'ness, how *Vain*, how *Ungrateful*, and how *Unprofitable*, is it, for Any Subject but to Grumble, as if he *Doubt*ed the *Performance* ! Nay, and how *Foolish*, Over and Above ; for *One Medling Protestant*, to *Provoke* the *Ruine*, and the *Inconvenience* of *All the Rest* ! I will hope after All, that a Good Part of This Matter dropt from the *Author* in his *Sleep* : For if That which he *Delivers* in This Place, for the *Conscientious Doctrine* of the Church of *Rome*, be, in *Truth*, so as he *Affirms* it to be, the *Inference* Undeniable that Results from it, is This ; That *His Majesty* thinks himself *Bound in Conscience*, to *Destroy All Religions but his Own* ; Which would be certainly *One*, of the most *Pernicious Impressions*, if it should once take Root among the *Common People*, that was ever thrown into the *Mouths* of the *Multitude* ; and the most *Defructive* of All *Communities*. But we have (*God be praised* for it) for our *Infalible Security*, not only the Solemnity of *Assurances*, and *Declarations*, but the *Immoveable Character* of a *Great*, a *Just*, and a *Wise Prince*, whose *Internal Honour*, *Generosity*, and *Prudence* are *Ten Thousand Guards* upon him : Beside, a *Merciful*, a *Powerful*, and a *Protecting Providence* Above, to Watch over, both *King*, and *People*.

There lay a Great Stress upon This Section ; and I had rather be *Tedious*, than speak to't by *Halves*. As for *Hugging* and *Squeezing*, 'tis no more than a Common Trick of *Policy*, and *State* : A Man helps his *Friend* up the *Ladder* ; And has his *Teeth* Dash'd out for his Pains.

[*There must be something Extraordinary* (he says) *when the Church of Rome setteth up Bills, and offereth Plaisters for Tender Consciences.*] And truly I am content to Agree with the *Metaphorical Author*, that there *Is* something in't, that is *very Extraordinary* ; And I'll speak Freely to't, when I come to't : But a Word by the Way ; If this Gentleman be a True Son of the Church of *England* (as by the Ayre and Humour of his Discourse he would appear to be) there is something *Extraordinary* in the *Church-of-England-Man's Case*, as well as in the *Papists* ; And it is No Ordinary Thing for *Him*, to be *Billing* of it Neither : Beside that it is not *Fair*, for *One Man* to find Fault with what *Another* does, and yet do the *Same Thing* Himself. As to the Church of *Rome's Skill*, or No *Skill*, either in *Cutting* or in *Healing*, I can say little more, than that some

some of *Our Good People* have shewed themselves *Master-Operators*, within the *Memory of Man*, in the very way of *Amputation* too; wherever they learnt the *Trade*: though the *PRETENDED Murder* of a *JUSTICE*, by the *Papists*, has put the *ACTUAL Murder* of a *PRINCE*, quite out of Countenance. What shall I do now? for This Chapter hangs yet upon my Fingers; and I cannot get off, without another Touch upon the Subject of *Liberty*; By which *LIBERTY*, I mean *TOLERATION*.

No man perhaps, has Spoil'd more Paper upon This Argument, than my self; No man has been more for the Upholding of the *Rubrick*, and *Canons*; No man more for the keeping of People up to the *Stated Articles*, and *Conditions* of our *Communion*; And I am the same Man in my Principles at This Day, that ever I was; Though upon a Change of Circumstances, I have likewise Vary'd my Judgment, with a respect to *Hia*, & *Nunc*, as to That Particular: For I take it to be Mightily *Another Case*, under a Prince of the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, from what it was under a Prince of the *English* Communion. My *Religion* is in every Point the *Same*; But That which *Was* the *Interest* of That *Religion*, in *Former Times*, is in some Innocent Respects, no *Longer* so. The *Strictness*, and *Rigour*, that was *Laudable*, and *Meritorious*, in the *One* Case, would be *Unmannerly*, and *Provoking*, in the *Other*. If I had had my Option, upon the late Mighty Change, the *Church-of-England-Men*, as an *Acknowledgment*, as a *Respect*, and for *Twenty* Reasons Beside, should have Presented His Majesty with All Honourable Assurances of *Freedom* for his *Own People*, even without so much as *Capitulating* for *Themselves*. First, as an Act of *Necessary Prudence*; For *Authority* had the Better End of the Staff; And there was Nothing to be *Gotten*, by Contesting and Strugling; but much to be *Lost* by't. 2^{ly}. As a *Testimonial* of *Reverence*, and of *Thankfulness*; for it would have been no more than what was Due, from a *Subject* to a *Prince*, upon the Matter of *Deference*, and *Resignation*. There would have been No Point of *Religion* Yielded; Not the Least Scruple of any Nicety of *Conscience* Departed from; but it would have made the King, and the King's Friends of the same Communion, *Easie*, and *Happy*. It would also have been a Retribution of *Gratitude*; and a Verification of the Kings Opinion of the Church of *England*, by their Practice. The Words ought, not only to be Recorded in the Journals, both of the Parliament, and of the Council; but likewise in the Hearts of all his Majesties Subjects.

I know the Principles of the Church of England are for Monarchy; and the Members of it have shewed themselves Good, and Loyal Subjects; Therefore I shall always take Care to Defend and Support it.

These were his Present Majesties Words at his First Sitting in the Privy Council, after the Death of the Late Blessed King: And These Words are to be made Good, in Honour, Duty, and Acknowledgment, without Deliberating, or Starting, by Every Man that Professes himself a Member of That Church. 3ly. We could not better have Consulted our own Peace, Freedom, and Security; for it is the Natural Reason, and Condition of the Thing, to Allow, as we would be Allowed; and not to Do Any thing to Others, that we should be Unwilling to see Turn'd upon our selves.

There is likewise a Fourth Reason, over and above All Those before mentioned, to Oblige us as Christians, and as men of Tenderness, Humanity, and Common Justice. It is now a Long Time since, that we have found the Pretended Popish Conspiracy to be an Imposture, and a Subornation; And I would put it to the Conscience of Every man, that has either by the Press, the Barr, the Pulpit, (or I could go Higher if I pleased) Contributed to the Credit of the Villany, Whether he be not Bound to make his Repentance, and his Retractation, as Publique, as ever his Seduction was? If he has Caused Many People to Believe a Lye; a Sanguinary Lye; a Lye that has drawn Innocent Blood after it; He is No True Church-of-England-Man, if he does not Openly Confess it; Declare it; and make All the Publique Satisfaction for it that the Matter will bear; If he does not Endeavour the Setting of as many People Right again, as his Example, Authority and Doctrine had led out of the Way; He's No True Penitent; No Right Honest Man; and I might add to't, that he's no True-Christian; An Hypocrite of Blood is the Worst of Hypocrites; and the Guilt of it Sticks to his Conscience, as well as the Gore of it to his Chops, 'till he has Wash'd his Mouth. And it is not enough neither, where Men have been Fally Sworn out of their Lives, for the Believers of those Perjuries, and Consequently the Promoters of the Credit of them; and Consequently yet once again, the Accessories (with leave of the Lawyers) to the Murders that Ensu'd; (For Murders they Were, to the False Witnesses.) It is not enough, I say, for a Man under These Circumstances, Barely to Clap his Hand upon his Breast, and say *The Lord Forgive me; for I have Innocent Blood to Answer for.* No, not if he should make Proclamation of it in Gath, and tell it in the Streets of Akalon; without doing a
Right

Right to All Persons concern'd, in some Proportion, to the Injury; In fine, without Atoning, in some Degree, for Past Indignities, by Future Kindnesses, and Respects: As who should say, [Gentlemen, we have been Impos'd upon by Perjur'd Villains, to the Loss of many of your Lives and Liberties, and the Ruine of your Reputations, Families, and Estates: We have Made you, and we have Us'd ye like Traytors; For the Love of God let us Live hereafter, like Loyal Subjects, Friends and Christians.] In a Word, After One so Criminal, and so Mortal a Mistake already, Men should be very Wary, how They Hazzard the Following of it with Another of the same kind. Prepossessions and Jealousies can never Warrant us in the Violation of Christian Charity: And so at the Long Last, I'll go a Step Further now.

Letter. *To come so quick from another extream, is such an unnatural motion, that you ought to be upon your Guard; the other day you were Sons of Belial, Now, you are Angels of Light. This is a violent change, and it will be fit for you to pause upon it, before you believe it: If your features are not altered, neither is their opinion of you, whatever may be pretended. Do you believe less than you did, that there is Idolatry in the Church of Rome? sure you do not. See then, how they treat both in Words and Writing, those who entertain that Opinion. Conclude from hence, how inconsistent their favour is with this single Article, except they give you a Dispensation for this too, and by a Non Obstante, secure you that they will not think the worse of you, p. 2.*

Answer. **V**Here there is Reason for a Change for the Better; Where there is Manifest Interest to Induce That Change; a Profession, that such a Change is Wrought; and a Charitable Place left to hope the Best of things; Where's the Crime, or the Folly of Inclining to the Belief of such a Conversion? If it be the Dissenters Interest, 'tis a Great Weakness, in That Respect, not to come about. If they Declare, and Promise more then they Intend to Perform, they Cut their Own Throats, by Playing the Knaves, to their Ruine; and by Acting against Common Honesty, as well as against Common Sense. Their Interest it is, most Undenably; for they get Remission, Ease and Favour by't. If the Papists think Better of the Dissenters then they deserve, 'tis an Error on the Right Hand: But the Dissenters, it seems, that but T'other day were Sons of Belial, are now, all of a sudden, in the Opinion of the Papists, become Angels of Light. And is it not just the very same Thing, (at

(at least if the Author of This Letter Judges Aright) from the *Dissenters* to the *Papists*, that it is from the *Papists* to the *Dissenters*? And where's the Hurt on't, if they are *Both Agreed* to think Better One of Another, then they were us'd to do? Or, according to our Author's Opinion, then Effectually they have Cause to do? Well! But he gives to Understand, that though the *Papists* have Changed their *Style*, they have not yet Changed their Thoughts of them: And Then, in comes a *Philosophical Caution*, not to give *Credit* to *Unnatural Motions* that pass from One Extreme to Another at a Stride. If he had look'd Both ways, he would have found as great a *Leap of States*, on the *One Side*, as he does of *Inclination* on the *Other*: For let a Man's Thoughts, and *Purposes*, be never so Sound, and *Reasonable*, 'tis No *Unreasonable* Thing yet, to Change Those Thoughts, and *Purposes* upon Change of *Accidents*, and *Occasion*. He says that the *Dissenters Features* are not *Altered*; but I shall take leave to say, that the very *Cause* it self is *Alter'd*; and that During his Majesties *Suspension* of the *Penal Laws*, they are, in a Fair Equity of *Construction*, no longer *Dissenters*. But whether this Gentleman hits the *Papists Thoughts*, or *Not*, is the Least Part of the Care of This Paragraph: For the Author seems much more solicitous, for fear the *Papists*, and the *Dissenters* should agree upon't to think *Well* of One Another, then for fear that the *Crafty, Jugling Papists* should put a *Trick* upon the *Poor Innocent Lambs* on the *Other side*. And I would, in One Word more, now put it to the Authors *Conscience*, Whether the *Papists*, and his *Own*, with a respect to the *Dissenters*, be not the very *same Case*, and the very *same Trick*. He would have them stand upon their *Guard*, he says; but against *What*? And what to do? As if *Good Discretion*, and *Good Nature* could not stand together: As if People could not be *Prudent*, without being *Inhumane*. It was *such Hints*, and *Touches* as *These*, that turn'd the *Hearts*, and the *Brains* of the *Common People* into *Wax*, to stamp *Forgeries* upon: But God forbid, that the *same Scene* should Open Once again, and that the *Epilogue* to One Sham, should prove the *Prologue* to Another.

It is Worthy of Observation, that in All Official Discourses of This Quality, there are Certain Words of *Common-Place*, Interspers'd up and down, that when the *Pen* grows *Dull*, are made use of, as a Butcher does of his *Steel* when his *Knife* is *Blunted*, to give it a *New Edge*: As here's [*IDOLATRY*] brought in, p. 2. of the *Sheet-and-Half-Edition*. And then p. 9. he is pleas'd to give it Another Whet, upon the Word [*TRANSUBSTANTIATION*.]

Now I do Previously Declare my self to be Perfectly a Church of England Man, upon These Two Points: And yet, saving all Possible Veneration to my Mother, and Reverence to my Profession, I cannot Imagine any other End, or Reason, for the very Mention of [IDOLATRY] in This Place, then to stir the Blood of the Protestant Reader; and to Brand the Romanists, with a Mark of Odium, and Reproche. Here's a Civil Question started; Not so much betwixt Roman Catholiques, and Dissenters, with regard to their Differing Perswasions in Religion, as with a Respect to the Interest of the Common Peace, and Safety, in the Agreement, or Disagreement of These Two Bodies of His Majesties Subjects. And what's This to the Polemicks betwixt the Two Churches? The Roman Catholiques Believe as they Did; And the Dissenters Believe as they Did; So that [the Papists Favour, he says, is Inconsistent with this Single Article:] And is not the Dissenters Favour, on the other side, as Inconsistent with the same Article? So that there's no more hope of favour on the One side, then there is on the Other. Now if they are Resolv'd, on Both Sides, not to Yield, what are All These Elaborate Dissuasives, but only so many Fine Words thrown into the Air?

Letter. Think a little, how dangerous it is to build upon a Foundation of Paradoxes. Popery now is the only Friend to Liberty, and the known Enemy to Persecution: The Men of Taunton and Tiverton, are above all other eminent for Loyalty. The Quakers from being declared by the Papists not to be Christians, are now made Favourites, and taken into their Particular Protection; they are on a sudden grown the most accomplished men of the Kingdom in Good Breeding, and give Thanks with the best Grace, in double Refined Language. So that I should not wonder, though a Man of that Perswasion, in spite of his Hat, should be Master of the Ceremonies. Not to say Harsher Words, these are such very New Things, that it is impossible not to suspend our Belief, till by a little more Experience we may be informed whether they are Realities, or Apparitions: We have been under shameful Mistakes, if these Opinions are true; but for the present we are apt to be incredulous; Except we should be convinced, that the Priests Words in this Case too, are able to make such a sudden and effectual Change; and that their Power is not limited to the Sacrament, but that it extendeth to Alter the Nature of all other things, as often as they are so disposed, p. 3.

IT would be Good Advice to the *Author*, as well as to the *Dissenter*, to Consider the Danger of Building upon Paradoxes: For it is to My Thinking, *Extremely Paradoxical*, to draw Arguments of Inclination from Results of Necessity; and to make it an Act of Friendship, for Two Bodies, or Divisions of Men, that have Need, One of Another, to shake Hands upon Certain Terms and Articles of Composition. The *Papists* would be at Liberty; and so would the *Dissenters*; And I think they should deserve to be Chronicled for Idiots, and *Mad-Men*, not to Unite in any Common Medium, with Justice, Honour, and a Good Conscience, toward their Joint-Ease, and Relief. And what's the *Papists* Friendship now, to Liberty; but that they would fain be out of their Shackles, Themselves? And what's their Enmity to Persecution, but a Desire to stand upon Even Ground, with the rest of the *Kings Subjects*? Especially, as they are Entitled to it by the *Kings Late Indulgence*. God forbid, that any Honest English Man should Envy any of his Fellow Subjects the Benefit of the *Kings Mercy*; because (in Effect) a man can hardly do it, without some sort of Reflexion upon his Sacred Wisdom and Goodness. To proceed now from the Irony upon Popery, to the Men of Taunton, and Tiverton; and so to the *Quakers*. It is not Good to Discourage men that do but so much as look towards Loyalty; and though Every body Cannot come up to the Good Breeding that This Gentleman is pleased to make himself so merry withal; we might Yet Methinks Arrive at such a Degree of Moral Civility, as to give his Majesty leave to Dispose of his Own, without calling him to Account for't. The *Quakers*, (he says) are the *Papists Favourites*. And are not the *Dissenters*, (at least as This Letter would have it Thought to be) the *Favourites* of the *Author*? And so he goes on still, sporting himself with these People, as [the Men that give Thanks with the Best Grace.] Well! And when his Hand was In, Why did he not take Notice, of Those too, that with a very Ill Grace, give No Thanks at all? He Cautions the *Dissenters*, to suspend their Belief till they know whether the *Papists* are in Jest, or Earnest: And why not Suspend, as well, 'till they can have the same Security for the Good Faith of the *Author* too? [We have been under shameful Mistakes (he says) if These Opinions are True.] And I say, that we have Seen, Felt, Heard, and Understood Mistakes much more shameful then any of These. Nay, and we have had True-Protestant Oaths for them too, in the same Case, and about the same People; And All yet found to be a Cheat at last. To go

Thorough with him, he calls in the *Sacrament* once again to his Aid, at the End of This Clause. I wish the *Period* had been handled with a little more Solemnity ; for I never lov'd the *Hocus-Pocus*ing of *Hoc est Corpus Meum*.

Letter.

Let me now speak of the Instruments of your Friendship, and then leave you to judge, whether they do not afford matter of Suspicion. No Sharpness is to be mingled where Healing only is intended ; so nothing will be said to Expose particular men, how strong soever the Temptation may be, or how clear the Proofs to make it out. A word or two in general, for your better caution, shall suffice : Suppose then, for Argument's sake, that the Mediators of this new Alliance, should be such as have been formerly employ'd in Treaties of the same kind, and there detected to have Acted by Order, and to have been Impower'd to give Encouragements and Rewards. Would not this be an Argument to suspect them ? P. 3.

Answer.

WE have had Suspicious FRIENDSHIPS ; Suspicious COURTSHIPS ; Suspicious BILLS, and PLAISTERS ; Suspicious CHANGES ; Suspicious PARADOXES ; (with Caution upon Caution over and above) and we are now a coming to Suspicious INSTRUMENTS : But [Where Healing is only intended, there must be no Sharpness] he says ; And so he goes forward Supposing and Supposing, in General, without Exposing Particular Men.

I am sorry with all my Heart that this Healing Humour ; Or at least This Healing Intention did not take our Author sooner ; for so far hitherto, as the Publique has been the Question, we have had Sharpness beyond Measure : But he is Resolv'd, from Henceforward, to Illustrate, by *John-a-Nokes*, and *John-a-Styles* ; and so to Proceed putting of Cases and Cases allmost to the End of the Chapter. Suppose (says he) that the Present Mediators, &c. should be found to have been Factors of Old, and Commission'd to give Encouragements, and Rewards, in Treaties of the same Kind.

I Answer, First, that Supposing is not Proving. 2ly. That the Supposed CASE on the One-side, till it be made out, is as Suspicious as the Supposed PRACTICE on the Other. For the Supposition of such a Practice may be a Fiction ; or it may be Enflam'd, and render'd Bigger then the Truth. 3ly. The Supposition, Thus Represented, Works Equally, whether it be True or False, without Farther Evidence. 4ly. What if it were True, so long as it is not the Character of the Instrument, but the Reason of the Proposition,

tion, that is to Govern? 5ly. 'Tis the *Authority* that must bear out the *Instrument*; and not a Prejudice to the *Instrument*, that shall Disparage the *Authority*: And if we cannot pay a *Respect* to the *Man*, it is yet Due to his *Commission*. 6ly. If the *Suspecting* of Any man, shall Extend to the *Taking away*, or to the *Lessening* of his *Credit*. 'Tis in the Power of any One Man, to suspect any Other, and No man can be Safe in his *Innocence*: Beside that, the Strefs of this *Insinuation* will put All men out of Capacity for *Publique Trust*, if it shall but be *Prov'd*, nay, or so much as *Suggested*, that ever they made a *False Step*, in their *Lives*. The Next, and Last Point, Expounds the *Letters* soft way of *Proceeding*, to have had more in it of *Prudential Caution*, then of *Tenderness* for *Particular Persons*: For they must be *Detected*, to have *Acted* by ORDER; and [ORDER] runs up Stairs the Lord knows whither.

If they should plainly be under Engagements to one side, their Arguments to the other, ought to be received accordingly; their fair Pretences are to be looked upon as part of their Commission, which may not improbably give them a Dispensation in the case of Truth, when it may bring a prejudice upon the Service of those by whom they are employed. p. 3.

THE Short of This Supposition, is, that their Arguments are Answer. to be Judg'd by their Dependences; and that they are Commission'd to Lye, and Juggle for the Service of their Masters. These [IF's] are Deliver'd with the Ayre of a Patriote, and with the Spirit of a Free-born-English-man; Like a Censor Morum in fine. If the Gentleman has an Ambition to be a Devote, for the Saving, or the Redeeming of his Country, he will Unriddle the Mystery; Lay Open the Confederacy; and bring All These Monsters out of Their Holes, into Open Day-light: Without which, we are so far from being the Better; that in Truth, we are much the Worse for his Suppositions: And without This, the Whole Pretended End of his Letter to a Dissenter, is Entirely Disappointed.

If there should be men who having formerly, had Means and Authority Letter. to perswade by Secular Arguments, have in pursuance of that Power, sprinkled Money amongst the Dissenting Ministers; and if those very men should now have the same Authority, practice the same Methods, and Disburse, where they cannot otherwise perswade: It seemeth to me, to be rather an Evidence then a Presumption of the Deceit. P. 3.

If

If there should be Ministers amongst you, who by having fallen under Temptations of this kind, are in some sort engaged to continue their Frailty, by the awe they are in lest it should be exposed: The perswasions of these unfortunate men must sure have the less force, and their Arguments, though never so specious, are to be suspected, when they come from men who have Mortgaged themselves to severe Creditors that expect a rigorous observation of the Contract, let it be never so unwarrantable. P. 3.

If these, or any others, should at this time Preach up Anger and Vengeance against the Church of England; may it not without Injustice be suspected, that a thing so plainly out of season, springeth rather from Corruption than Mistake; and that those who act this Cholerick part, do not believe themselves, but only pursue higher Directions, and endeavour to make good that part of their Contract which obligeth them, upon a Forfeiture, to make use of their inflaming Eloquence? They might apprehend their Wages would be retrenched if they should be Moderate: And therefore whilst Violence is their Interest, those who have not the same Arguments, have no reason to follow such a Partial Example. P. 4.

Answer.

Here's Supposition upon Supposition, More, and More still. What if there should be Money in the Case, among the Dissenting Ministers, as there has been formerly? And what if the Agents of Former Times should be now at their Old Trade again? Why truly, for My Part, it shall be either So, or Not so, as the Author pleases; and e'en let him take his Choice. If there has been No Money given, the Author is out in his History; And if there Has been Money given, the Single Question is, Whether the Thing was Honest, or Dishonest; Warrantable, or Unwarrantable; that was to be done for That Money. I do not find that there were any Bravo's, or Church-Robbers employ'd in This most Important Commission. I do not hear of any Murder or Sacrilege, in the Question: But when it shall be Prov'd, that a Wicked Thing was ORDER'D, and a Wicked Thing DONE, Then, (and not till Then) will be the Time for This Supposition to take Place. Now if it was a Lawfull, or a Righteous Bus'ness, I have very Good Authority for't, that the Labourer is Worthy of his Hire; And it is the Wisdom, and the Justice of All Well-Ordered States, to Reward Publique Services, without Suffering Good Subjects to be Call'd Mercenaries, for Touching the King's Money; and likewise for the Credit, and the Vindication of the Honour of the Government, not to suffer the Bountyes of

of the Prince to be Scandalously Represented to the People, under the Odious Names of Corruption, Bribery, or Subornation: Inasmuch, that the Presumption of Fraud, seems to lye much stronger on the Supposers side, then it does on the Other.

The Letter is [IFFING] of it now again too; with a [*What if the Mercenary Ministers Before supposed, should be kept in Awe, for fear of telling of Tales?*] They are gotten into *Hucksters Hands*, and there's No coming off without a *Scratch'd Face*. Now am I, the very Same Indifferent Man, to *This Supposition*, that I was to the *Former*; and believe it, upon the Whole Matter, to be a *Fiction*: But I do not yet, either Pretend to *Know*, or to Pronounce upon't; and whether it be a *Truth*, or a *Figure*, 'tis to Mee *All of a Price*: So that for Quietness sake, I am content to Reason with the Gentleman upon his *Own Askings*; His *Own Presumptions*; Nay, and I care not if I say, upon his *Own Affirmations* too; For *This way of Casing a Matter*, has the Force of *Asserting* it. If, in Good Earnest, such a Thing has been; and that they dare not come off for fear of being *Layd Open*; 'tis the Case (that I have had somewhere before) of a Gentleman that lay given over by his Physician, in a Desperate Fit of Sickness. A Friend and Companion of His, made him a *Visit*; layd his *Condition* before him, and Advis'd him, by All means, while he had Life yet, to *Call upon God*, and Repent. *Why Ay*, (says he) *If I were sure to Dye, I'de Repent with all my Heart*; But then, *if I should happen to Live, the Rogues would so Laugh at me*. Here's the Perfect Image of the *Author's Thoughts*, upon the *Supposed Dissenter* in the Second Period, Body and Soul. He's *Affraid to Repent*, for fear the Rogues should *Laugh at him*. I do not know how far *This Bashfull Argument* may Work upon the World; but I am persuaded that the Plea will hardly be admitted at the *Day of Judgment*. And then he lays the *Stress* of the Case, upon a Point that's *Never to be Clear'd*; 'till we have All of us Windows in our Breasts, and Eyes, to See and Read the *Thoughts* of one Another in our very *Hearts*. And where's the *Result* at last, but that we are to Draw *Conclusions* from the *Bare Possibility* of Things, to the *Infallibility* of a *Demonstration*! Let *This* be *Granted*, and the *Supposition* stands *Firm*; but *Nothing Less* than *This*, will be ever able to *Support* it.

And the *Case-putting-Humour* goes on still too; though the Author succeeds no Beeter in his *Third Supposition*, then he did in the *Two Former*. By [*These, or Any Others Preaching up Anger, and*
Ven-

Vengeance against the Church of England] He can mean Nothing in the World, but Popish Priests, or Dissenters ; unless he should Imagine, that the Church-of-England Ministers will lay Violent Hands upon Themselves. Such Preaching, he says, is [plainly out of Season] with a regard, he means, to the Timing of it : Which seems to Imply, that at some other time, it might do well enough. Now if it be an Ill Thing to do at Any time, it will be ALWAYS out of Season ; for 'tis not with Sermons, as 'tis with Mackrel, to be IN, and OUT : But if Such Preaching may be Now Out of Season ; Why may not some Ways of Writing be out of Season too ? And why may it not be a Thing of as Dangerous Consequence, to set the Dissenters and the Papists, as to set the Dissenters, and the Church-of-England-men together by the Ears ? Not but that This Way of Conduct, Wounds the True, and the Genuine Church of England under the Bare Denomination of a Church-of-England-Cause, more then it does Either of the Other Two Parties, as I shall shew when it comes before me. But the Corruption goes on still. The Choleric Part (he says) is but Acted ; Higher Directions must be Pursu'd, or the Contract is Void. Nay, the Dissenters are in Pay too, and they have Wages. The Design is to Work Violence, and There he Pins the Basket. If the Choleric Part be (as he says) but Acted, the Dissenters and the Church-of-England-Men Understand One Another, before hand it seems, and the Whole Story of the Letter is but a Banter : That same Expression of [Higher Directions] is a Bugg Word or Two ; and from Higher to Higher, there will be No Resting Place found for this Oraculous Innuendo, till we come to the Highest of all. Now I am not Lawyer enough, to know, What such a Charge of CONTRACT, CHEAT, and VIOLENCE, in such a Train of Connexion may amount to. This is [a Partial Example] he says ; And truly Mythink, This Letter has a very Partial way of Proceeding ; for it makes War, and Peace, in the same Breath ; Rips up Old Wounds under the Colour of Healing them : And I appeal to the indifferent World, whether a Choleric Writer may not be as Dangerous, as a Choleric Preacher ; and if the One Example be not as much to be Avoided as the Other. Wherefore I think it would not do Amis, if the Dissenter should Counter-Advise his Remembrancer upon Two or Three of these Last Points : For the Letter deals altogether by Secular Arguments too ; and there may be Many Walking on the One Side, as well as on the Other. And then again, the Disuniting of the Kings Subjects, of what Religion soever they are, is a Point as Suspicious, As any that we have yet

Before

Before us: And it is a Thing, every jot as much out of Season certainly, to Endeavour the making the Romanists Odious (*As Romanists*) under a Prince of *That Communion*, as it is to Endeavour the Conciliation of a Friendship betwixt the *Roman Catholiques*, and any other sort whatsoever of the *Kings Liege People*. 'Tis a Rash, an Irreverent, a False, and a Seditious Insinuation, to Possess Subjects with an Opinion, that there is No Faith, Truth, Honour, or Justice, to be Expected from the Religion of *That Church*, whereof their Sovereign is a Member. And so to the Next Supposal.

If there should be Men, who by the Load of their Crimes, against Letter the Government, have been bowed down to comply with it against their Conscience; who by incurring the want of a Pardon, have drawn upon themselves the necessity of an intire Resignation: Such Men are to be Lamented, but not to be Believed: Nay, they themselves, when they have discharged their Unwelcom Task, will be inwardly glad that their forced Endeavours do not succeed; and are pleased when Men resist their Insinuations; which are far from being voluntary or sincere, but are squeezed out of them by the Weight of their being so Obnoxious. P. 4.

BEFORE I speak to the Case, I cannot but do a Gentleman's Answer. Right to the Author, and say; that [If Troy could have been Defended, This was the Hand to have done it.] In one Word more, It is Cleanly, and Artificial; but still it makes his own Saying Good, at last; that [It is a Dangerous Thing to Build upon a Foundation of Paradoxes.]

What Credit (says he) is to be given to Criminals, that are forced to Compound for their Necks, against their Consciences? Nay, they'l be Inwardly Glad, not to be Able to Succeed in their Endeavours; for 'tis All Force without the least Pulse, or Stroke, of Nature, or Inclination. If these Men will Act AGAINST their Consciences, for a Pardon, will they not much more Act ACCORDING to their Consciences for the Continuance of that Security? That is to say, upon Conviction that they were in an Error: But if the Dutiful Conscience of Preserving the Publique Peace, Works One way; And if the Letter will Suppose a Conscientious Obligation (either so in Truth, or so Understood) for the Destroying of a Lawful Government, on the Other, it is a kind of a Scandal upon the very Rebellion, to call it a Crime; In Opposition to the Text here that Implies it to be a Matter of Conscience. Here's the Present Case, in short, Stated, and Read upon; And so we'l Proceed.

Letter.

*If in the Height of this great Dearness by comparing Things, it should happen, that at this Instant, there is much a surer Friendship, with those who are so far from allowing Liberty, that they allow no LIVING, to a Protestant under them. Let the Scene lie in what part of the World it will, the Argument will come home, and sure it will afford sufficient Ground to suspect: Apparent Contradictions must strike us: Neither Nature nor Reason can digest them: Self-Flattery, and the desire to deceive our selves, to gratifie a present Appetite, with all their Power, which is great, cannot get the better of such broad Conviction, as some things carry along with them. Will you call these vain and empty Suspicions? Have you been at all times so void of Fears and Jealousies as to justify your being so unreasonably valiant in having none upon this Occasion? Such an extraordinary Courage at this unseasonable Time, to say no more, is too dangerous a Virtue to be commend-
ed. P. 4.*

Answer.

THere may be Time, Place, and Occasion, for the Private Entertaining, and the Secret Apprehending of Fears and Jealousies; And there may be Just Ground, Powerful Inducements, and Necessary Prudence, so to do: But for the Propagating, the Publishing, the Spreading, and the Irritating of Those Jealousies, where the Honour of the Prince, The Dignity of the Government, and the Peace of the State, are All wrapt up in the Consequences of Moving That Distemper, there can be No Time, Place, or Occasion, to Warrant such a Practice. I could Wish, that This Letter had been kept Clearer of the very Word [SUSPECT;] Or, that where the Author has thought fit to make Use of it, the Suspicion had not been Carried further, then I am willing to understand it was Intended. For Jealousie, Naturally runs into the most Implacable Hatred; and to tell Protestants that there's No LIVING, under Papists; is to tell them at the same Time, that there's no Suffering of Papists to Live under Them; and so to set All the Believers of This Doctrine Immediately upon the Cutting of One Another's Throats. He puts the Case, of a Possibility of a Surer Friendship, at This Instant; but then Cloggs it with such After-Claps, that Nothing but Future Damnation for a Present Disobedience, can be more Dreadful, then the Course of the Impendent Calamities that he has set before us. Apparent Contradictions must strike us, (he says:) And is it not an Apparent Contradiction, to Vest Subjects with the Authority of Governours? To Invert the Order of Reason and Nature? and to take
the

the Office of *Rule*, out of the *Crown*, and cry *Hail King* to the *Multi-tude*? Neither *Nature*, nor *Reason*, can *Digest* the turning of the Ordinance of *Power*, *Topsy-Turvy*: And the *Case* is not *Appetite*, (as he says) but *Duty*. Let *Convictions* be never so *Broad*, the *Proper Judge* of 'em is the *Person* that *God* has appointed to *Judge* of 'em; and the *Slandering* of *Gods Anointed*, on the One hand, is *Worse* then the very *Supposed Male-Administration*, on the *Other*. The *People* are *Happy* where a *Prince* *Governs Well*: But still in *Case*, even of a *Mis-Government*, there's *No Remedy*, but what's *Worse* then the *Disease*.

Toward the Close of This Paragraph, he draws an *Inference* from the *Dissenter's* Behaviour under *Past Fears* and *Jealousies*, to their Behaviour under *Fears* and *Jealousies*, at *Present*. Now if he had taken into This *Calculation*, an Account of the *Artifices* that *Rais'd* Those *Fears* and *Jealousies*; an Account of the *Design*; and the *Application* of them; the *Misery* and *Desolation*, that they brought upon the *King*, and *Three Kingdoms*; he would not have *Advised* them, I hope, to the *Saying* of the *Same Lesson*, and to the *doing* of the *Same Things* over again. And whereas he calls *Courage*, a *Dangerous Virtue*, at This *Unseasonable Time*; It is the most *Daring*, and the most *Dangerous* of All *Courages*, that he Himself now *Practices*; That is to say; the *Courage* of *Reading* such a *Lecture* to the *Common People*, as, if they were not *Thoroughly Possessed* with a *Confidence*, and *Assurance* of their Own *Safety*, in the *Hands* where the *Mercy* and *Providence* of *God* hath *Placed* them, might *Endanger* the *Springing* of a *Mine*, that would, most *Infallibly*, *Bury* the *Engineer Himself* in the *Common Ruine*.

If then for these, and a thousand other Reasons, there is cause to Letter. suspect, sure your new Friends are not to Dictate to you, or Advise you. For instance, &c. p. 4.

THE Author is so Intent upon the Matter of his Discourse, *Answer.* that I am afraid he has almost forgotten the Title of it. He calls it [*A Letter to a Dissenter, &c.*] and He Himself Personates a *Church-of-England-man*, in the *Manage* of it: Now if there be (according to his own reck'ning) a *Thousand Reasons and Odd*, for the *Dissenters* *Suspecting* their *New Friends*; and against the *Entertaining* of these *New Friends*, for *Dictators*, and *Advisers*; Never any Mortal had a *Clearer Cause* on't; and These *New*

Friends are not, upon any Terms, to take upon them to *Dictate*, and to *Advise*. Upon This *Joym-Concession*, I have a Civil Question or Two to put to the *Magisterial*, and *Fore-casting Author* of this *Letter*. First; Is he, in Very Very Deed, a *True Church-of-England-man*, according to the *Standard* of That *Communion*? If *Not*, Why does he tell the *Dissenters* that he is one? Nay, and I'll Abate him somewhat of the *Heights*, and *Pomificalibus*'es too, into the Bargain. Secondly: *Admitting* him to be the Man that he *Professes* to be, we shall see presently what comes on't That way too: And so let him e'en stick to which of the Two He pleases, either the *Church*, or the *Separation*. If he be a *Dissenter*, *Himselſ*, he should have call'd his Papers *A Letter from a Dissenter to a Dissenter*: And in that Case, 'Tis Ten to One, he has some *Part to Play*; Or some such *ORDER*, I Warrant ye, as (he was a saying) the *Dissenting Ministers* have; How to *Tread the Stage*, How to *Govern themselves*; and who knows but he may have [*HIGHER DIRECTIONS* too] as well as some Others of his Brethren? *Warrants*, *Commissions*, and *Instructions* for the Composing of his *Words*, *Countenances*, and *Designs*: Nay, and *Dispensations* too, for *Dissembling*, and *Equivocating*, according to the *Supposed Case* Again, of his *Fellow Brethren*? If, (as he suggests) All These Things have been *Done*, and *Acted*, in *Mans Memory*, and may be likewise *Supposed* to be *Done*, and *Acted over again*; 'tis the World to a Nut-shell, if he be One of *That Party*, that he is likewise One of *Those Managers*, *Himselſ*; And 'tis not *Fair*, to *Carry Two Faces under One Hood*: For, at this Rate, the whole *Business* is Nothing but *Person*, and *Disguise*. However, for the *Author's Reputation*, I would rather find a *Failing* in his *Argument*, then in his *Integrity*; for if he should chance to be found a *Dissenter*, or as a body may say, but a *Dissenters Fellow*, it would be enough to bring the Credit of his very *History*, *Matter*, *Cause*, and *Design*, in *Question*, to be taken Halting under a *Borrow'd Character*.

But Allowing him now to be *Aliqualiter*, (with leave of the *Criticks*) a man of the *Church of England*, (though not so *Consummated*, and *Canonical*, as a Body would Wish) he is Manifestly *Hamper'd* in his Own Net. For the *Church-of-England-Men* are to the *Dissenters*, upon the Strictness of a *Civil Point*, to All Purposes, as *New Friends*, as the *Papists* are: That is to say, according to the *Authors Notion*, and *Intent* of This *New Friendship*. I speak This *ad Hominem*. He professes a *Good Will*, and a *Friendship*

Friendship to the Dissenters; The Papists do the Like, and their Friendships bear much the same date. Now (says he) Your New Friends are to be Suspected; He Himself is in the same Class, and as Lyable to be suspected, in the Quality of a New Friend, as the Other. Nay, and a man might yet lay a little more weight upon't; It is a Separation in Discipline that makes our Dissenter, and it is the Dissent, so Distinguish'd and Restrain'd, that is here the Question: So that the Papist has no Quarrel to the Dissenter, but as a Member of the Reformation; for in the Matter of Country, and Allegiance, they do Both fall under the Common CASE of All the King's Subjects.

The Addressees that fly abroad every Week, and Murder us with Letter. Another to the same; the first Draughts are made by those who are not very proper to be Secretaries to the Protestant Religion; and it is your part only to Write them out fairer again. Strange! that you who have been formerly so much against Set Forms, should now be content the Priests should Indite for you. p. 4.

THE *Murdering Addressees* that are here Complain'd of, in a *Answer*. much more *Murdering Letter*; are a Certain sort of *Murder*, that the *Law* neither of *God*, nor of *Man*, takes any Notice of; and a *Murder*, that perhaps was never *Heard of*, 'till it came to be set up for a Figure, in This *Rhetorical Paper*. They fly abroad, 'tis True; We Read them in the *Gazettes*; and the *Letter* takes upon it self, to set forth by *Mysterious Hints*, and *Intimations*, from what Hands they come too. Now This is Matter of *Fact*; and where there's No *Evidence Offer'd*, there's No Place for a *Disproof*. He gives to Understand, as a Thing of *Practice*, and *Reproche*, that the *Addressees* only Write after the *Dictates*, and *Copies of Other People*; and pleasantly Reproves them for Admitting *Set Forms* in These *Addresses*, (and *Set-Forms drawn by Priests too*;) though they will have None in their *Publicke Devotions*. Now here's not One Syllable of the *Fact* in sight; and the Strefs of All, he says, comes to no more then This; *The People do not draw up their Own Addresses*; To which I Answer; that there was never any *Body of Addressees*, upon the Face of the Earth, that did not Stand Lyable to the same *Exception*, in having their *Addresses Drawn up for Them*: Neither is it so properly the *Form of Words*; but the *Assent*, and the *Subscription*, that makes the *Address*: And it is enough for the People

a People to *Own*, and *Sign* the *Matter* of the *Address*; without any Pretence to a Hand in the *Wording* of it. I do insist a little the more upon the *Privilege* of a *Commoner* of *England*, to have him Excused from *writing* his *own* *Addresses*, because it may so fall out, that every *Honest* Man's Skill in *Letters*, may go no further, perhaps, then the *Bare Writing* of his *Name*, or the making of his *Mark*: Beside, that a Body does not know the *Danger* of such a *President*, if our Author should Carry this Point: For the very same *Exception* will hold against him upon a Suit in *Chancery*, because, forsooth, his *Bill*, or *Answer*, was not of his *Own* *Drawing*.

Letter. The nature of *Thanks* is an unavoidable consequence of being *Pleased* or *Obliged*; they grow in the *Heart*, and from thence shew themselves either in *Looks*, *Speech*, *Writing*, or *Action*: No man was ever *Thankful* because he was bid to be so, but because he had, or thought he had some Reason for it. If then there is cause in this Case to pay such extravagant *Acknowledgments*, they will flow naturally, without taking such pains to procure them; and it is unkindly done, to tire all the *Post-Horses* with carrying *Circular Letters* to solicit that which would be done without any trouble or constraint: If it is really in it self such a *Favour*; what needeth so much pressing men to be *Thankful*, and with such eager circumstances, that where *Persuasions* cannot delude, *Threatnings* are employed to fright them into a *Compliance*? *Thanks* must be voluntary, not only unconstrained, but unsolicited, else they are either *Trifles* or *Snares*, they either signifie nothing, or a great deal more then is intended by those that give them. p. 5.

Answer. **T**HE Author comes now to Enlarge himself upon the Text of *Thanksgiving*; but he forgets, I fear, that there are *Thanks* of *Good Manners*, and *Respect*, as well as of *Passion*; *Thanks* for *Protection* in the *Enjoyment*, and *Possession* of *Benefits*, as well as for *Actual Bounties* in the *Collation* of them. Many stand in need to be *Taught* to be *Thankful*, which he calls [*Bidding*] to be so, and they had never *Thought* on't perhaps, if they had not been *Admonished* so to be. As to the [*Such Extravagant Acknowledgments*] which he speaks of; I do neither *Understand*, the [*Such*] nor the [*Extravagant*]; Unless he Means, that in the *Testimonials* of the *Peoples Loyalty* and *Affections* to his Majesty, as they are set forth in so many *Addresses*, [*the Play is not worth the Candle.*] His Conceit of *Tiring Post-Horses*, is an *Allegation*, without any *Proof*, or so much as *Probability* to *Back* it: But I hope, if it were *True*, he

he would have the *Charity* to Allow the *Government* (for *That's* the *Immuendo* of it) a *Liberty* to do the same Thing which he *Practises* Himself. For (to his Honour be it spoken) never any Man, perhaps, made more Work for *Post-Horses*, with Two or Three Sheets of Paper, then the Author has done with *This Letter*; And never any *Letter* perhaps, was more *Universally Circular*, then *This* has been. And to What End, but to *Sollicite*, to *Perswade*, to *Threaten*, to *Fright* People (These are his own Words) into a Compliance with his *Dictates*. He is against *Pressing Men to be Thankful*. Now *Gratitude* is a *Duty*, both toward *God*, and our *Neighbour*: And certainly, a *Duty*, that may be *Pressed*, and *Inculcated* in the *Moral Offices* of a *Civil Life*, as well as in the *Chair*, or the *Pulpit*. To make an End of *This Clause*, Either he is gone off from his *Text* of *Thankful Addresses*, or else he does a Worse Thing in making either *Trifles*, or *Snares* of *Those Applications*; which, in Common *Justice*, and *Modesty* ought to receive a *Fairer Construction*.

If an Inference should be made, *That* whosoever *Thanketh* the *King Letter*. for his Declaration, is by that engaged to *Justifie* it in point of *Law*; it is a greater Stride than, I presume, *all those* care to make who are *perswaded* to *Address*, &c. p. 5.

IT must not be Forgotten, that though the Author of the Letter has Chang'd his *Battery*, from *Invention* to *Rhetorique*, from *Rhetorique* to *Calumny*; and, now at last, from *Calumny* to *Law*; That he is still *Constant* to his *First Design*, and to the *Two Main Topiques*, viz. of the *King's Declaration* of *Indulgence*, and of the *Addresses* that have follow'd upon it: But Whether for *Decency*, *Affection*, or *Good Company*, it Matters not to Our Present Business. He enters upon his Subject, with a kind of an *Exposition*, *Ex post facto*, of the *Addressees Meaning*; After the *Addresses* were *Presented*; and without much Regard to What they thought, either *Before*, or upon the Spot, at the very *Presenting* of them. This is much after the President of the *Protestation* of *Forty*. First they made the People *Take* it; and when they had once gotten it down, the *Imposers* Publish'd a *Comment* upon the *Meaning* of it. The First Step that he Advances toward his *Law-Point*; comes within a Hair's Breadth of Pronouncing the *King's Declaration* to be a *Nullity*. But he brings it In, with an [IF,] and an [I PRESUME] And What does he *Presume*? but that *All the Addressees*,
are.

are either *Fools* or *Knaves*, in either *Taking*, or in *Addressing Thanks*, for that which they think in their *Consciences*, the King has No *Power* to *Give*. If he can sink the *Reputation* of the *King's Power*, and *Prerogative*, the *Whole Work* is done at a *Stroke*. But he is *Resolved*, to have, at least, *Two Strings* to his *Bow*, and to *Try* what's to be done upon the *Passions* of the *People*, if he Cannot *Captivate* their *Understandings*. And so he sets himself to the *Driving* of *Another Naile*.

Letter. If it shall be supposed, that all the *Thankers* will be *Repealers* of the *Test*, whenever a *Parliament* shall meet; such an *Expectation* is better prevented before, then disappointed afterwards; and the surest way to avoid the lying under such a *Scandal*, is, not to do any thing that may give a *Colour* to the *Mistake*. P. 5.

Answer. HIS First Attempt is to *Invalidate* the *Kings Declaration* it self; and if he cannot Carry the *Law-Point*, he is now a *Trying* what he can do upon the *Poll*, toward the *Frustrating* and *Poysoning* of it in the *Operation* and *Effect*, upon the Meeting of *Another Parliament*. If it shall be supposed (says he) that all the *Thankers* will be *Repealers*, &c. 'Tis Better Prevented, then Disappointed: As who should say, Let the *Next Choice* be made according to our *Authors Measures*, and the *Members* must be neither *Church-of-England-Men*, nor *Papists*, nor *Dissenters*, but a sort of *Amphibious Republicans*, according to This *Letter-Model*, and the *Government* will be, then, most blessedly brought to Bed of a *Representative Wisdom*.

Letter. These *Bespoken Thanks* are little less improper then *Love-Letters* that were solicited by the *Lady* to whom they are to be directed: so that besides the little *Ground* there is to give them, the manner of getting them, doth extremely lessen their *Value*. P. 5.

Answer. HE will not allow [*Bespoken Thanks*] in This *Case*, or in This *Manner*, to have either *Ground* or *Value*. If there be such a *Fatality* in the Matter, that there is No keeping the *Author* of the *Letter* out of *Harms-way*, I had much rather that he should fall upon his *Own Weapon*, then by Any *Malicious Practice*, or *Address of Mine*: So that for a *Dish* of *Coffee*, These *Thanks* shall be BE-SPOKEN, or NOT *Bespoken*, whether of the *Two* He pleases: For they are never the *More*, or the *Less*, due, for *Being*, or Not *Being*, either the *One*, or the *Other*: And if they be *Due*, with a respect

respect to the *Person*, to the *Occasion*, to the *Prudence*, *Good Manners*, or to Twenty other Circumstances that Enter into *Offices* of This Quality, 'tis Enough, to give them both *Ground* and *Value*. The King speaks to *All his People*, in This *Declaration*, and are they too *Stout* to make him a *Leg* for't? He speaks *Kindly* to them too; and shall That *Gracious Goodness* not receive so much as an *Acknowledgment*? He does it at a *Time* too, when Peoples *Hearts*, and *Heads*, are *Tamper'd* with *Jealousies*, for fear of *Popery*, and *Arbitrary Power*; when the very *Season* Elevates the *Character* of the *Mercy*; And is All This to pass for Nothing now, in *Our Author's Opinion*? [*Set your Souls at rest, Every Man, and Every Sort of You; for your Freedoms, your Lives, and your Religions Are, and shall be secure, Under My Government, and Protection.*] If His Majesty had done any *Particular Person*, *apart*, the Honour to *Single him out* for such an *Instance*, or *Declaration* of his *Tenderness*, and *Bounty*, what a *Brutality* would it have been Accounted, to have failed of a Return of *Submission*, and *Acknowledgment*, suitable to the *Dignity* of the *Descension*. And are not *All* the Kings Subjects under the *Same Tye* of *Gratitude*, when His Majesty speaks to them *All Together*, as *Every Man* of them would have been, *Severally*, and *One by One*?

Neither is it, in Truth, Only the [*BESPOKEN Thanks*,] at last, that lyes so Hard in our Author's Stomach; for This Letter of His will not Brook *Any Thanks at all*; And his *Aversion* lyes to the very *Duty* of *Thanksgiving*: But however, our *Late Tumults*, *Insurrections*, and *Rebellions*, well Weighed, and Considered, are, *Themselves*, a sufficient Ground for *BESPOKEN Thanks*; Not only in *Wisdom*, and in *Justice*, but in *Mercy* too: 'Tis Worth the Experiment to *Try* an *Obstinate*, and a *Perverse Age*, whether *Liberty* will *Quiet* it or no: How far it will be *Sensible* of a *Royal Clemency*. A Prince that is wholly made up of *Generosity*, and *Goodness*; Let him have never so Great a *Mind* to *Exercise* it, cannot, in some Instances, find an *Honourable Place* for't: And in Those Cases, 'tis no Departure from the *Glory* of his *Sacred Function*, not only to *Bespeak*, but to *Solicit Thanks*, and *Dutiful Applications*; which sounds no more, upon a *Candid Interpretation*, then if he should have made *Interest*, and *Friends*, to *Prevail* upon his *Own Subjects*, that they would but *Qualifie* themselves as *Fit Objects* of their Princes *Care* and *Protection*, and put their *Sovereign* into a *Capacity* of making them *Happy*. And so forth.

Letter. *It might be wished that you would have suppressed your Impatience, and have been content for the sake of Religion to enjoy it within your selves, without the Liberty of a Publick Exercise, 'till a Parliament had allowed it; but since that could not be, and that the Artifices of some amongst you have made use of the Well-meant-Zeal of the Generality to draw them into this Mistake; I am so far from blaming you with that Sharpness, which, perhaps, the Matter in Striçtness would bear, that I am ready to Ery on the side of the more Gentle Construçtion. P. 5.*

Answer. **W**E have been upon the Subject of *Mercy*, and in the Turning of a Hand, our Author has here, of his own Proper Motion, Issued out a General Act of Indemnity to the Dissenters. They have been Fool'd, he says, [by the Artifices of some amongst them] but for [Well-meant Zeal] fake he is Content to Pass it Over. He seems a little Troubled at their Acceptance of Liberty, upon the Terms of the Kings Declaration; for they might have kept on their Conventicles [within Themselves] he says, till the Parliament should have Eas'd 'em. From whence, I Gather This Doctrine; that the Gentleman is Heart and Hand for the Dissenters Breaking of the Laws, though he is against the Kings Dispensing with them.

Letter. *There is a great Difference between enjoying quietly the Advantages of an Act, irregularly done by others, and the going about to support it against the Laws in Being: the Law is so Sacred, that no Trespas against it is to be defended: Yet Fraillties may in some Measure be excused when they cannot be justified. p. 5.*

Answer. **H**ERE is an Admirable Title set a-foot, to the Lawful Enjoyment of Crown, and Church-Lands, under Oliver. But if he speaks of the Declaration of Test; the Laws in Being would be of no Force at all, if that Law of Test should Prove Repugnant to the Law of God. I do not say that it Is so; but if it should be found to Bee so, our Author's Positive Judgment for the Obligation of the Laws in Being, would be one of Those General Rules that in Tract of Time, Praëtice, and Experiment, would meet with a Thousand Exceptions. The Law of the Land is Sacred, and so is the Law of the Prerogative, which is the Law of the Land as well as the Other, and nothing ought to be Call'd a Trespas against a Humane Law, that is Authoriz'd by the Indispensable Equity of a Law Divine.

There are several Snatches in This Paper, that are either *Founded*, or *Pretend* to be *Founded* upon the *Resolution*, and *Obligation* of *Laws*. I shall spend my Thoughts too much upon *Fractions*, to take them *One by One*, as they fall in my way ; but I shall ee'n do as a *Country Gentleman* did at an *Ordinary*. The Company was set round the Table, Wayting for Dinner ; and in the *Interim*, some Particular Acquaintances Entertain'd the Time with Toying, and Throwing Crumbs of Bread One at Another : *My Country Gentleman*, that knew not so much as One Face at the Table, Pick'd his Man, and fell to the same Sport too : The Other took it up still, and Threw it over his Shoulder : But at last very civilly told him, *Sir*, (says he) *I beseech you, will you keep your Account, and when it comes to a Loaf, you shall have it All together.* I must Now desire My Author to give me Credit too, 'till it comes to a *Loaf*, and I shall Then give him what I have to say upon This Subject *All at Once*.

The Desire of enjoying a *Liberty* from which Men have been so long Letter. restrained, may be a Temptation that their Reason is not at all times able to resist. If in such a Case some Objections are leap't over, indifferent Men will be more inclin'd to lament the Occasion, then to fall too hard upon the Fault, whilst it is cover'd with the Apology of a good Intention. But, &c. P. 5.

Here is a very Friendly Apology for an Almost-Irresistible Temptation. Answer. The Author is of Counsel for the Defendant ; and makes a Case of Equity on't, to set the Fault against the Occasion. The Desire of Liberty might have been a Plea for the Forbidden Fruit too. And now for Leaping over Objections, our Author has shew'd himself as Good at it as any Dissenter of 'em All ; For he has been pleas'd to Exercise a Liberty in These Sheets, not only without any Visible Temptation, but Against Any Visible Reason for so doing : But he is his own Confessor, and Absolves Himself upon This Unaccountable Doctrine, that [The Apology of a Good Intention Covers the Fault ;] Which makes Every Man a Judge in his Own Cause.

Where, to Rescue your selves from the Severity of One Law, you Letter. give a Blow to All the Laws, by which your Religion and Liberty are to be protected, and instead of silently receiving the Benefit of this Indulgence, you set up for Advocates to support it. You become Voluntary Aggressors, and look like Counsel retained by the Prerogative against your

your Old Friend Magna Charta, who hath done nothing to deserve her falling thus under your Displeasure. P. 5.

Answer.

IF the Supporting of this Indulgence be the setting of the *Prerogative*, and *Magna Charta* together by the Ears; and that His Majesty has, in This Act, *Usurpt* upon the *Laws* of the Land, and the *Liberties* of the People; What Court of *Judicature* will the *Author* of This *Calumny* fly to with his *Appeal*? Or what is This *Suggestion* Less than an *Arrow* shot at the *Heart* of the *Supreme Magistrate*; how speciously soever drawn by the Arm of a *Pretended Patriot*? 'Tis well enough, *ad Populum*, to talk of the *Dissenters* giving a *Blow* to *All* the *Laws* that *Protect* them, by Endeavouring a *Rescue* from *One Law* that *Offends* them: But in *Substance*, and *Effect*, there's no more in't than the *Cadence* of a *Well-Turn'd Period*. To take the Matter Aright; 'tis not the *Law* that *Protects* Us (for *Laws* have neither *Hands*, nor *Feet*) but an *Over-ruling Power* that *Manages*, *Protects*, and *Actuates That Law*. The *Law* is a *Rule*, 'tis True, to such or such a *Form*, or *Frame*, of *This* or *That Government*: But it is yet *No Further a Rule*, than as it *Squares* with the *Divine*, and *Fundamental Rules* of *Government*—it self; of which *Rules* and *Measures*, the *Supreme Magistrate* is the *Only Moderator*, and *Judge*.

Letter.

If the Case then should be that the Price expected from you for this Liberty, is giving up your Right in the Laws, sure you will think Twice before you go any further in such a Losing Bargain. P. 6.

IT will not be Denied that the *Subject* has a *Right* in the *Benefit* of the *Laws*; but he has none at all Undoubtedly in the *Interpretation*, or the *Administration* of them: So that our *Authors* Case, in This *Expostulation* is (*Right* or *Wrong*) an *Usurpation* upon the *Province* of his *Superiors*; for there's no longer any *Order*, or *Reason*, in the *Works* and *Offices* of *Providence*, and *Nature*, when *Authority* and *Subjection* shall come to be *Inverted*, or *Confounded*. He seems extremely *Tender* on the *Behalf* of the *Dissenters*, for fear they should give up their *Birth-rights* in a *Composition* for their *Liberty*. This is it which he calls [*their Right in the Laws*]; but he hopes they will be *Better Advis'd* first. Here is an *Imperial Prerogative* over-ruled by a *Pamphlet*; A *Cause* given against the *King* by *John-a-Styles*; and *First* or *Last*, a whole *Systeme* of *Republican Consequences*, *Built* upon it; and it is upon a
Point

Point too, that perhaps was never Controverted till now, in any Settled State, and upon This Bottom. It is a Right of the Crown Common to All Governments in the World, and so Essential to the Maintaining of a Civil Polity, in Peace and Security, that No State can Subsist without it: And Consequently, No Act of State can take it away. In one Word, I speak of the Power of Calling, Forbidding, Continuing, or Dissolving Publique Assemblies. And the Exercise of That Power is the Point in Question upon This Declaration: And without This Power he can neither Defend Himself, nor Protest his People; neither Punish the Guilty, nor secure the Innocent; Nor finally, Discharge the most Necessary Duties of State and Justice.

After giving Thanks for the Breach of One Law, you lose the Letter. Right of Complaining of the Breach of all the rest; You will not very well know how to defend your selves when pressed; and having given up the Question when it was for your Advantage, you cannot recall it when it shall be to your Prejudice. P. 6.

HE takes the Case all the way for Granted, and so Proceeds up- Answer.
on the Presupposal of an Imaginary Breach, and Right. He makes a Mighty Bus'ness of the Peoples giving up That which they never Had, and of their Losing Certain Priviledges in the Future, that they have No Pretence to: And, after All, not one Colour of a Reason offered, why Sentence should not be given against him. If it be Clear, that the People have Not This Right, truly, to My Thinking, he Ventures his Person, and his Reputation upon a Dangerous Position: Or what if a Man, for Arguments sake, should Yield, that the People Have such a Right, the Authors Hand is yet in the Wrong Box, to Commence a Suit against His Majesty in No Bodies Name; In a CIRCULAR LETTER thus, and No Day, or Place set for a Hearing. Briefly, If there were no More in't, the very Manner of the Proceeding would be enough to turn Justice it self, Thus Communicated, into a Libel. To come now to the Merits of the Question: There's First, a Claim set a-foot without Any Foundation. 2ly. A Right Supposed, and the Cause utterly Spoil'd by Ill Management: But what if a Body should give him his Uttermost Demands now; and take the Matter De bene esse, as He Himself has set it forth: That is to say, Suppose his Challenge to be Good; The Proceeding, Regular, and Modest; and the Subjects Right; in Strictness of Law, as Clear, and as Undubitable as He Affirms it to be; He will find himself in a Worse Condition per-

perchance *This way*, then he was *Before*: For if *Subjects* will be standing upon their *Terms*; and by *Vying Privileges* against *Privileges* with their *Sovereign*, *Provoke* him to Return *Strictnesses* for *Strictnesses* upon them, by way of *Reprizal*; Our Author, I fear, is not *Aware* of the *Certain Consequences* of such a *Contest*; If the *KING* shall come to take All *Advantages* against the *Subject*, on the other hand, that the *Rigour*, and the *Letter* of the *Law* will *Allow* him.

Letter.

If you will set up at one time a Power to help you, which at another time by parity of Reason shall be made use of to destroy you, you will neither be pitied, nor relieved against a Mischief you draw upon your selves, by being so UNREASONABLY Thankful. It is like calling in Auxiliaries to help, who are strong enough to subdue you: In such a case your Complaints will come too late to be heard, and your Sufferings will raise Mirth instead of Compassion. p. 6.

Answer.

HERE's the Supposition of a Power set up, to Help the Dissenters, that shall be made use of to their Destruction: Now say I on the Other Hand, that the Power here pretended to be set up, is a Power over and over Recogniz'd already; A Power Inherent in the Crown, and a Power Inseparable from it: The English of his Caution, that they should not set it up, Imports, the bidding of them to Disown it And more then Insinuates the Antimonarchical Doctrine of making the King's Power to be Radically in the People: But here's a Bugbear started, and all long of themselves, it seems, for being so [UNREASONABLY Thankfull.] The King Grants them an Indulgence; They Thank him for't; and That Unreasonable Thankfullness (says our Author) will be their Ruine. I hope he does not mean the King, by that Destroying Power, though I do not see any way in the World to keep his Majesty Clear of That Imuendo: And Briefly; the Edge Strikes the Same Way thorough the Whole Course of the Paper.

Letter.

If you think, for your excuse, to expound your Thanks so as to restrain them to this particular case, others, for their ends, will extend them further; and in these differing Interpretations, that which is back'd by Authority will be the most likely to prevail; especially when by the advantage you have given them, they have in truth the better of the Argument; and that the Inferences from your own Concessions are very strong, and exprels against you. This is so far from being a groundless Supposition, that there was a late instance of it, in the last Session of Parliament, in the House of Lords, where the first Thanks, though things of course, were interpreted to be the Approbation of the King's whole Speech, and a Restraint from the further examination of any part of it, though

over

never so much disliked; and it was with difficulty obtained, not to be excluded from the liberty of objecting to this mighty Prerogative of Dispensing, merely by this innocent and usual piece of good Manners, by which no such thing could possibly be intended. p. 6.

I Find little more in *This Paragraph*, (or in *This Page*, I might *Answer*. have said) then a *Rhetorical Reading* upon the *Virtue* of INGRATITUDE;] and how *Mortal* a *Sin* it is, under the *Highest Obligations* to a *Prince*, for *Subjects* to be THANKFULL. The Great Danger, and Inconvenience, that appears in *This Section*, is the hazard of *Misconstruction*, for fear a man that gives Thanks for Chalk, should be thought to give Thanks for Cheese. Now it was my Opinion, that a man might be as *Explicit* in his Thanks, as upon *Any Other Subject*; and if *This Banter* passës, I am Absolutely for keeping my *Hands* in my *Pocket*, and my *Tongue* betwixt my *Teeth*, in my *Own Defence*: for if a body either *Speaks*, or *Writes*, and *Authority* should make *Treason* on't, it might be as much as a man's *Life's Worth*. His Instance of a *Case last Session of Parliament*, in the *House of Lords*, is a Point too Hot for *Mee* to Meddle with. But I may venture yet without the *Risque*, I hope, of a *Scandalum Magnatum*, to take Notice, of the *Author's* saying that the *King's Speech* was DISLIK'D; A Term, that I presume, he had no Commission for: And then for his *Irony* upon the [MIGHTY Prerogative of Dispensing] 'tis a Flower not to be Pass'd over without an *Emphasis*. In One Word more; it is a Wonderful Thing, that our *Author's Head* should run so much upon the *Differing Interpretations* that would be Pass'd upon his UNREASONABLE Thankfullness, in such a Case as *This*; and never so much as Dream of the *Constructions* that would be made on the *Other Hand*, or (certainly) a more Unreasonable Unthankfullness.

This sheweth, that some bounds are to be put to your good Breeding, and that the Constitution of England is too valuable a thing to be ventured upon a Complement. Now that for some time you have enjoyed the benefit of the End, it is time for you to look into the Danger of the Means: The same Reason that made you desirous to get Liberty, must make you solicitous to preserve it: so that the next thought will naturally be, not to engage your self beyond Retreat, and to agree so far with the Principles of all Religions, as not to rely upon a Death-bed Repentance. p. 6. Letter.

This Paragraph, does in some Measure make good the Suggestion *Answer*. of the Next before, concerning the Danger of [Differing Interpretations;] for I cannot fully make out the Secret of the *Author's Meaning* about [the Principles of All Religions,] and [a Death-bed Repentance;] unless he intends by it, so Comprehensional a *Charity*, that All Christians, in what Latitude soever, may go to Heaven

'Heaven, *Hand in Hand*, in the way of a *Holy Common-Wealth*. He would not have the *Constitution of England* (according to his *Popular Understanding* of it) *Complemented away*, out of *Good Breeding*; Neither would I have That *Constitution*, according to the *Legal*, and *Monarchical Frame* of it, *Courtsly dealt withall*, *Calumniated*, and *Disparag'd*, out of *Ill-Breeding*. He gives Advice about the Benefit of the *End*, and the *Danger* of the *Means*; and so Conveys a Title over to the *People*, of Entering into a kind of *Joynt Commis-sion* with his *Majesty*, for the Managing of *Publique Affairs*, and for Obviating the *Political Consequences* of Things. Take him, in short, quite thorough, and he shews himself Directly an *Advocate* for a *Popular Liberty*, without so much as *One Salvo* for the Rights of the *Crown*.

Letter.

There are certain Periods of time, which being once past, make all Cautions ineffectual, and all Remedies desperate. Our Understandings are apt to be hurried on by the first heats; which if not restrained in time, do not give us leave to look back, till it is too late. Consider this in the Case of your Anger against the Church of England, and take warning by their Mistake in the same kind, when after the late King's Restoration, they persevered so long the bitter taste of your rough usage to them in other times, that it made them forget their Interest, and sacrifice it to their Revenge. p. 6. & 7.

Answer.

Here's a kind of a *Predestinarian Foundation*, with Certain *Philosophical*, *Political*, and *Historical Meditations*, and *Reflexions* upon it. The *Time Presses*, and when 'tis too Late, 'tis too Late; which is a Pithy way of Speaking a Great deal in a Little. His *Council* to the *Dissenters*, of *Moderation* toward the Church of England, is *Good and Seasonable*; but least the Church of England should grow Proud of being so much in our Author's Good Graces, he gives her a Box o'th' Ear at the very Next Word, that makes her Stagger again; and in the Same Period, makes as Arrant a *Filt* of his *Beloved Clyent*, as ever he did of the *Whore of Babylon*. Take *Warning*, says he, by the *Church-of-England's Mistake*; And what was that *Mistake* (in his Opinion, at last) but an *Impotent Folly*, and a *Diabolical Revenge*? So that, to the *Scandal* of our *Author's Profession*; he has fet up *Two Churches of England*; The One of them a *Desperate, Hair-Brain'd, Vindictive Wretch*, as He would Represent Her; The Other, a *Good, Peace-making Gentlewoman*; Whereof He Himself takes upon him to be a *Son*, and a *Member*. And now to shew that he is all of a piece; and as *Faithful an Historian*, as a *Canonical Church-of-England-Man*; Nothing can ever so Effectually Terminate *This Dispute*, as the Issue of the Conference at the *Savoy*, (soon after his Majesties late Return) toward a
General

General Accommodation. I forget *Names*; But they Brake, upon This Point: Because the King's Commissioners would not agree [*That the Enjoying of Things Lawful, by Lawful Authority, if they may by Accident, be the Occasion of Sin, is Sinful.*] His Majesty, for the Purpose, bids the Asserter of that Doctrine, *Light him a Candle: No*; (says he) *if it should happen to be Blown out, and give Offence, some bodies Throat may come to be Cut upon't.* This is it now, that our Author calls *The Church of England's Sacrificing their Interest, to their Revenge*; because they would not Agree to a Principle, Absolutely Destructive of Human Society.

Either you will blame this Proceeding in them, and for that Reason not follow it; or if Letter. you allow it, you have no reason to be offended with them: So that you must either dismiss your Anger, or lose your Excuse, except you should argue more partially, then will be supposed of Men of your Morality, and Understanding. p. 7.

This Method of Reasoning is just as if a Man should Raise a *Answer.* Building upon a Foundation of Blown Bladders; where there's nothing but Wind, and Blast, to Support the Fabrick. He runs away with the Fact, for Granted; Dilemma's upon it, and so leaves the Matter in the Hands of Men of Morality, and Understanding.

If you had now to do with those Rigid Prelates, who made it a matter of Conscience to give you the least Indulgence, and even to your more reasonable Scruples continued Letter. stiff and inexorable, the Argument might be fairer on your side; but since the common Danger hath so laid open that Mistake, that all the former Haughtiness towards you is for ever extinguished; and that it hath turned the Spirit of Persecution, into a Spirit of Peace, Charity, and Condescension; shall this happy Change only affect the Church of England? And are you so in love with separation, as not to be moved by this Example? It ought to be followed, were there no other Reason then that it is a Virtue; but when besides that, it is become necessary to your Preservation, it is impossible to fail the having its Effect upon you.

This Party-per-Pale-Humour, runs to the Tune of the Old *Answer.* Song: [*And no body else shall Plunder but I*;] For the Quarrel does not lye to the Dissenters so much for any Animosity of Theirs toward the Church of England, but for breaking in upon our Author's Patent of Sole Privilege for the Abusing of them Himself. There was a Time, 'tis True, when Prelates, (says he) were Rigid, Uncharitable, Unreasonable, Stiff, and Inexorable, Haughty, and under the Power of the Spirit of Persecution, &c. But All is turn'd now it seems [*into a Spirit of Peace, Charity, and Condescension*] (*Quere if it should not have been, Comprehension*) As witness the Pacifick Genius, and Tenderness of the Author here, and his Paper. Is the Church of England so Reform'd, (the Letter's Church of England, that is) and will none of You, my Masters, come

come in, to take your *Parts* in the *Blessing*? *Are you so in love with Separation, that when Wee come down to You, you'll be running away from Us?* (For That's the Meaning on't.) 'Tis your *Interest* as well as your *Virtue*, to *Associate*: And what's All This now, but the *Down-right Project* of *Uniting* into a *Republique*?

Letter.

If it should be said, that the Church of England is never Humble, but when she is out of Power, and therefore loseth the Right of being believed when she pretendeth to it: The Answer is, First, it would be an Uncharitable Objection, and very much mis-timed: An Unseasonable Triumph, not only Ungenerous, but Unwise: So that in These Respects, it cannot be Urged without Scandal, even though it could be said with Truth. Secondly, This is not so in Fact, and the Argument must fall, being built upon a false Foundation; for whatever may be told you, at this very Hour, and in the Heat, and Glare of your present Sunshine, the Church of England can in a Moment bring Clouds again, and rattle the Royal Thunder upon your Heads; Blow you off the Stage with a Breath, if she would give but a Smile, or a Kind Word; the least Glimpse of her Compliance, would throw you back into the State of Suffering, and draw upon you all the Avengings of Severity, which have accrued during the time of this Kindness to you; and yet the Church of England, with all her Faults, will not allow her self to be rescued by such unjustifiable means, but chooseth to bear the Weight of Power, rather than lie under the Burden of being Criminal. p. 7, 8.

Aggrav.

WE have here as Lewd a Character given (betwixt Hawk and Buzzard) of the True Church of England from the Pen of a Pretended Church-of-England-Man, as the Concurring Wit, and Spite of the Greatest Enemy she has upon the Face of the Earth, could put together. Her Humility is made the Effect of her Impotence; and therefore there's No Believing of her, (says the Comment.) But then (says the Author Handy Dandy) That's a little Uncharitable, and Miss-timed; and it is neither Generous, nor Safe: So that at This Season it could hardly be said without Scandal, tho among Friends, no more perhaps than Truth; But then he Rubs up the Dissenters again, with a Politick Hint, that the Church of England (Meaning this Church of England still) is not so Low, yet neither, as People Imagine; and that she Could in the next Moment, Command Clouds and Thunder; Turn Heaven and Earth Topsy-Turvy with [but a Smile, or a Kind Word:] But Our Author's Church of England scorns to be Rescued by such Unjustifiable Means; (as giving the King Thanks;) and will rather bear the Weight of Power, than the Burthen of being Criminal; which is all one, as to say, Let the King do what he will, he shall never make us Crouch, either to his Authority, or his Power; like a Company of Snaking, Sniveling, Loyal, Thankful Rogues. But have His Church-of-England-Men a Power to do All This? (as he says) Why then they have the Power to make the King Break his

Word

Word, and to Stop the Sun in his Course. In fine, his Majesties Faith, Honour, and Government, at the rate of these *Huffing Challenges*, lye all at Mercy.

It cannot be said that she is Unprovoked; Books and Letters come out every Day to Letter. call for Answers, yet the will not be stirred. From the supposed Authors, and the Style, one would swear they were Undertakers, and had made a Contract to fall out with the Church of England. There are Lashes in every Address; Challenges to draw the Pen, in every Pamphlet: In short, the fairest Occasions in the World given to Quarrel; but she wisely distinguisheth between the Body of Dissenters, whom she will suppose to Act, as they do, with no ill Intent; And these small Skirmishers pick, and sent out to Picquer, and to begin a Fray amongst the Protestants for the Entertainment as well as the Advantage of the Church of Rome. p. 8.

THAT there are Provoking Books and Letters, that Call for, and that Require Answers, is a Point readily agreed upon on My Part; and our Author will, I hope, upon Second Thoughts admit This Letter of his to be One of the Number: Nay, and the Writers, and the Managers of some of those Pamphlets look like Trepanners, or Sharpers, that make it their Trade to start Quarrels, and then Scow away with a Hat, or a Chalk in the Interim. I have seen several Addresses too, that seem to Extend Liberty of Worship to Liberty of Reproche; and that think they Cannot Else God sufficiently on the One hand, without Treading upon their Neighbours Toes, on the Other, There's no Denying of This: and what's the Issue at last, but that the True Church of England Suffers for the Faults of our Authors Church of England, falsely so Called?

This Conduct is so good, that it will be scandalous not to applaud it. It is not equal dealing, to blame our Adversaries for doing Ill, and not commend them when they do Well. p. 8. Letter.

Submission, Patience, and Resignation, are Virtues, Undoubtedly, that Deserve Applause, and the Impartial Distribution of Reward or Punishment, for Well, or Evil-doing, is but Writing after the Copy of the Divine Justice: But then we must not call Evil, Good; nor Good, Evil. Let us have no Stealing of Crowns in Canonical Habits; No doing of Ill Things under False Names; No Writing of Letters to Disturb Government; to Dishonour a Nation, as well as to Reproche any Religious Profession; And after All These Contradictions to the Doctrine and Practices of the Apostolical Church of England, let's have No Casting a Canonical Robe over the Shoulders of an Impostor, and leave the Tayler to Answer for the Character. Answer.

To hate them because they persecuted, and not to be reconciled to them when they are ready to suffer, rather then receive all the Advantages that can be gained by a Criminal Compliance, is a Principle no sort of Christians can Own, since it would give an Objection to them not to be Answered. p. 8. Letter.

THE Author sets up here for a Sufferer. What would the World think of him now, if his Name should come to be found among the Persecutors! Not among the Persecutors of the Dissenters; which he (most Un-son-like) Reflects upon in This Clause; but among the Persecutors, even of Those pretended Persecutors Themselves! I Charge him with Nothing; for I do not know him; but he takes a kind of a Wringing Bias in this Letter, as if he were Creeping into his Mother's Belly again. The Criminal Compliance, is only the Conscientious Duty of Acknowledging His Majesties Authority; which is a Characteristical Discrimination, betwixt the Legitimate, and the Illegitimate Sons of the Church of England. Answer.

Think a little, who they were that promoted your former Persecutions, and then consider. Letter.

See how it will look to be angry with the Instruments, and at the same time to make a League with the Authors of your Sufferings.

Answer. **T**O put this into English now; the Papists were the Promoters, and the Protestants the Instruments of the Dissenters Former Persecutions: And will you now make a League, says he, with the Authors of your Sufferings? This is only a Paraphrase upon Ores's Epistle before his Narrative; and a Story, so quite out of date, that a Man would as soon put Pento Paper, in Answer to a Canterbury Tale.

Letter. 1. Have you enough considered what will be expected from you? Are you ready to stand in every Borough by Vertue of a Conge d'elire, and instead of Election, be satisfy'd, if you are returned? p. 8.

2. Will you in Parliament, justify the Dispensing Power, with all its Consequences, and repeal the Test, by which you will make way for the Repeal of All the Laws that were made to preserve your Religion, and to Enact others that shall Destroy it?

3. Are you dispos'd to change the Liberty of Debate, into the Merit of Obedience, and to be made Instruments to Repeal or Enact Laws, when the Roman Consistory are Lords of the Articles?

4. Are you so linked with your New Friends, as to reject any Indulgence a Parliament shall offer you, if it shall not be so Comprehensive as to include the Papists in it? p. 8.

Answer. **T**O take these Four Heads as they lye: The First Implies a Direct Practice, and Confederacy, both In, and With the Sheriffs.

The Second Anticipates the Question, and Precludes the Freedom of a Parliamentary Debate: It makes the Common People, Judges of State-Consequences, and subjects the Wisdom, and Justice of the Government to the Censure of the Multitude: Neither is the Test, so Sacred, as not to be lyable to the Common Conditions, and Limitations, that are Annexed to All Other Laws.

2^{ly}. What is This Contemptuous Insinuation, but an Enflaming Bitterness, Mockery, and Scorn, to the Highest Degree; while the Kings Declaration is made the Ground of the Calumny, and the Incentive to't?

4^{ly}. This is, as who should say, [Leave it to the Parliament to set you at Liberty, but be sure you have nothing to do with the Kings Declaration; nor with Any Indulgence, that shall include the Papists for Company.]

Letter. Consider that the implied Conditions of your new Treaty are no less, then that you are to do every thing you are desired, without examining, and that for this pretended Liberty of Conscience, your real Freedom is to be Sacrificed: Your former Faults hang like Chains still about you, you are let loose only upon Bayl; the first Act of Non Compliance, sendeth you to Jayl again. p. 8, 9.

Answer. **H**ERE's an Extravagance of Figure, and Hyperbole, without the force of any Image of Reason, or Truth; but the Author Bethinks himself what would be the most Provoking Thing in Nature, to be Said, or Done, under our Circumstances, and then Throws it out to the Mobile, as the Resolution and Design, of the King and his Ministers.

Letter. You may see that the Papists themselves, do not rely upon the Legality of this Powers which you are to Justifie, since they being so very earnest to get it established by a Law, and the doing such very hard things in order, as they think to obtain it, is a clear Evidence, that they do not think, that the single Power of the Crown is in this Case a good Foundation; especially when this is done under a Prince, so very tender of all the Rights of Sovereignty, that he would think it a diminution to his Prerogative, where he conceiveth it strong enough to go alone, to call in the Legislative help to strengthen and support it.

Answer. **T**HIS Section is a piece of Art, that only Differs from the Former Strokes of the same Pen, in that it Lashes the Government with somewhat a Better Grace. The
Pretext

Pretext is *Popular*, but bring it to the *Touch*, and it vanishes like a *Mist* before the *Sun*. The King *Suspends*, by his *Prerogative*; but a *Total Repeal*, must be the *Work* of his Majesty in *Parliament*; which does not yet hinder the *Temporary Virtue* of a *Temporary Suspension*: But to give the *Author* his due, he has some sort of *Justice*, as well as *Wit* in his *Anger*: For after the *Crippling* of the *Prerogative*, he *Furnishes* a *Crutch*; and calls in the *LEGISLATIVE Help* to *Support* it; and so drops the *Government* into a kind of *Partnership* betwixt King, *Lords*, and *Commons*.

You have formerly blamed the *Church of England*, and not without reason, for going so far as they did in their *Compliance*; and yet as soon as they stopped, you see they are not only *Deserted*, but *Prosecuted*: Conclude then from this *Example*, that you must either break off your *Friendship*, or resolve to have no *Bounds* in it. If they do not succeed in their *Design*, they will leave you first; if they do, you must either leave them, when it will be too late for your *Safety*, or else after the *Squeaziness* of starting at a *Surprise*, you must be forced to swallow *Transubstantiation*. p. 9.

Either This is the *Fidion* of a *Cafe*, to serve a *Present Turn*, or it is *True* in *Matter of Fact*; but it is *Clear*, that the *Dissenters* mean *One Church of England*, and that our *Author* speaks of *Another*. But be it as it will, here's no *Light of Evidence* that I can see; nor any *Stress* of *Argument*. The *Charge* that was *Flat Popery* formerly, is now *Dwindled* down into a *Bare Compliance*: But how is This *Church Deserted* all this while? How *Prosecuted*? In the *Declaration* that's made the *Foundation of the Controversie*, it is *Expresly Provided* for, and *Secur'd*; and the *Liberty* that is *Given* to the *One* side, is not *Taken* from the *Other*. But the *Author's Church* is *Teachy*, and *Forward*; and the *Answerer's Church* is to bear the *Blame* on't. I am at a loss too, at the supposed *Stop* here; How far did we Go? What was it we *Stuck* at? A *Body* would take it to be some *Article of Faith*, at least, by the *Weight* that's layd upon't; and that we were *Half-way* to *Smithfield* allready, to *Burn* at *Stake* for't. And what's the *Whole Business* at last; but *Live*, and let *Live*: Give *My People* the *Exercise of Their Religion*, (says the *King*) and do *You Enjoy* your *Own*: which, in our *Cafe*, is certainly a very *Charitable*, and a *Reasonable Medium*. The *Rest* runs altogether upon *State-Calculations*; which is the *Worst* way of *Tampering Peoples Minds*, and *Spiriting* away their *Hearts* from their *Sovereign*, under the *Countenance* of *Political Judgments*. These *Fore-borders*, are *Undoubtedly* the most *Pernicious* of *Wizzards*, and *Fortune-Tellers*.

Remember that the other day those of the *Church of England* were *Trimmers* for enduring you, and now by a sudden *Turn* you are become the *Favourites*: Do not deceive your selves, it is not the *Nature* of *Lasting Plants* thus to shoot up in a *Night*: You may look *Gay* and *Green* for a little *Time*, but you want a *Root* to give you a *Continuance*. It is not so long since, as to be forgotten, that the *Maxim* was, It is impossible for a *Dissenter* not to be a *REBEL*. p. 9.

There's a *Nest of Boxes* in This *Clause*: The *Author's Church of England*, has a *Comprehension* in the *Belly* of it, and That *Comprehension* is *Big* again, with a *Commonwealth*. He makes *Trimmer* here, to be a *Name of Reproche*, cast upon the *Church of England*, for *Enduring the Dissenters*; whereas, the *Temporizing Neutrality-Men* Took up This *Name* to *Themselves*, upon a *Point of Vmity*; as who should say; We are the *Men* that keep the *Boat* (or the *Government*) *Even*: And in This very *Place*, with the *Scandal* of a *Trimmer* in his *Mouth*, he does the *Office* of a *Trimmer*. The *Man* seems to be *Dreadfully* afraid of the *Papists*; and yet not *Half so much*, nor in *half so Good Earnest*, as I am afraid of the *Commonwealths-Men*; and there is *No way* for the doing of *That Jobb*, like the *Binding up* of a *Hundred several Religions* in *One Comprehension*. There may be *Good Faith*, *Conscience*, and *Moral Honesty*, (and I doubt not, but that in a *Considerable Measure*, there is so too) in the *Exercise* of *Every several Perswasion*, *Apart*; but the

Letter.

Answer.

Letter.

Answer.

Uniting

Uniting of Things Inconciliable, in One and the same Mass, can be nothing else then a Club of Confederacy, to do Mischief: Beside, that the Gathering of Bodies, and Societies together, after This manner, is one of the Peculiar of Sovereign Power. 'Tis a strange Thing, how much a Greater Privilege This Unknown Person Assumes to Himself here upon This Matter, then he will allow the King: And that it should be so much a Greater Crime, to make the Papists and the Dissenters Friends, then to Reconcile the Comprehension-Men, and the Dissenters: Nay, with the Exclusion of a Third Party of his Majesties Subjects, out of All Terms of Agreement. Here's a little Dark in this Paragraph; but the Change of One Word will make him as Clear as Chrystal. Instead of [You want a ROOT to give you a Continuance] read it, [You want a HEAD to give you a Continuance:] And That's the Natural Exposition of This Text.

Letter.

Consider at this time in France, even the New Converts are so far from being employed, that they are disarmed: Their sudden Change maketh them still to be distrusted, notwithstanding that they are reconciled: What are you to expect then from your dear Friends, to whom, whenever they shall think fit to throw you off again, you have in other times given such Arguments for their Excuse? p. 9.

Answer.

THE Sense of this Period would have run every Jot as well in These Words. You see how the Protestants, nay, and the very Converts too are used in France, and you must e'en Expect to be serv'd with the same Sauce here. What Colour can be Pretended now for This Calumny, after so many Declarations, Professions, and Instances, Every Day Fresh and Fresh, to the Contrary? But This is the Fruit of a Restless, and an Insatiable Comprehension-Principle, that Never in This World thought Any Thing enough, short of All.

Letter.

Besides all this, You ask very unskilfully against your visible Interest, if you throw away the Advantages, of which you can hardly fail in the next probable Revolution. Things tend naturally to what you would have, if you would let them alone, and not by an unreasonnable Activity lose the Influences of your good Star which promiseth you every thing that is prosperous. p. 9, 10.

Answer.

WHY This is directly a Calculating of the Kings Nativity, and an Almost-Unheard of way of raising a Use of Consolation, to the People, from the King's Mortality, if not the very Hope of his Majesties Death.

Letter.

The Church of England, convinced of its Error in being severe to you; the Parliament, whenever it meeteth, sure to be gentle to you; the next Heir bred in the Country which you have so often quoted for a Pattern of Indulgence; a general Agreement of All Thinking Men, that we must no more cut our selves off from the Protestants abroad, but rather enlarge the Foundations upon which we are to build our Defences against the common Enemy; so that in Truth, all things seem to conspire to give you Ease and Satisfaction, if by too much haste, to anticipate your good Fortune, you do not destroy it. p. 10.

Answer.

IF the Poor King (God Bless us All) should take Absolute Will and Pleasure upon him, at the rate of the Unaccountable Author of This Letter; and talk of Parliaments, as if he had their Necks under his Girdle, there would be no Living, for Popular Appeals and Letters to Dissenters. Why 'tis made little less then Treason against the Majesty of the Multitude for an Imperial Prince, only to Recommend the Easing of his Subjects of his Own Communion, from the Legal Scandal, and Impuration of being made Criminals by the Statute; and to Exempt them from the Civil Snarcs of Tests, and Penalties, before any Immoral Crime is committed. My thinks his Majesty might be Allowed one short Word, For the Defendant, as well as any Private Letter-Writer a Thousand Against him; and to Feel the Pulse of a Parliament before hand, what they Intend to do, as well as the Other, to Direct, Pronounce, and Appoint Before-hand, what they Are, and Ought to do: But Who, o.

Wh

What can be Innocent, when it shall be a Crime to be Thankful? And for a Sovereign Prince, even in a Protestant Cause, to Grant Liberty to a Protestant Party?

But to take him together now, Here's the Church, crying Peccavi; Security given for the Good Behaviour of the Next Parliament: And so away for Holland; [That Pattern of Indulgence;] (Witness their Taxes and Oppressions Innumerable, as well as Intolerable;) And what's his Business at last, but Treating of Alliances, (by what Authority I know not) and Enlarging the Protestant Foundations, upon which (he says) we are to Build our Defences against the COMMON ENEMY. His Majesty (God Preserve him) being one of the Number, against whom, Those Defences are to be Built. His Conclusion is (in Truth) Pithy, and Pathetical; [Not too fast, my Masters, and your Work will do it self.]

The Protestants have but one Article of Humane Strength, to oppose the Power Letter, which is now against them, and that is, not to lose the Advantage of their Numbers, by being so unwary as to let themselves be divided.

HE is All, Politiques here, up to the Hills: He has Erected a Scheme; Found Answer. out a Propitious Star; Ensur'd upon a Parliament; Propos'd an Alliance; Enlarg'd Foundations, and he is now come to Muster up his Troops. He finds, upon his Books, that the Protestants have the Advantage of Numbers: Well! And what are Those Numbers to do? They are to Oppose the Power which is now Against them: So! And what is the Power that is Against them? Why the Power of the Papists, Every Mother's Son of 'em. One and All is the Word; That is to say, You must not suffer your selves to be divided.

We all agree in our Duty to our Prince; Our Objections to his Belief, do not hinder Letter. us from seeing his Virtues; and our not complying with his Religion, hath no effect upon our Allegiance; We are not to be Laugh'd out of our Passive Obedience, and the Doctrine of Non Resistance, though even those who perhaps owe the best part of their security to That Principle are apt to make a jest of it. p. 10.

THIS is one of the Trimmeſt Periods we have had yet: Men may Agree in Answer. their Duty to their Prince, and yet mistake That Duty; And neither Judge of it, nor Practise it Aright. If by This Duty, he means a Duty so Qualified, as that is which runs thorough This Paper, the Lord Deliver his Majesty from his Subjects Agreement in a Duty of That Complexion. A Man may see his Princes Virtue, without loving him ever the Better for't. And what is it to say, that the Kings Religion does not Operate upon My Allegiance, when my Allegiance may be Rotten, as well without it, as with it. A Man may be Debauched, and Corrupted out of his Passive Obedience, without being Laugh'd out of it; And the Practise of Non-Resistance is Deaf to the Doctrine of it. So that this is All, Fast, or Loose, as he pleases Himself.

So that if we give no Advantage by the fatal mistake of mis-applying our Anger, by the natural Course of Things, this Danger will pass away like a shower of Hail; Fair Letter. Weather will succeed, as lowering as the Sky now looketh, and all by this plain and easie Receipt; Let us be still, quiet, and undivided, firm at the same time to our Religion, our Loyalty, and our Laws; and so long as we continue this method, it is next to impossible, that the Odds of Two Hundred to One should lose the Bet; Except the Church of Rome, which hath been so long barren of Miracles, should now in her Declining Age, be brought to Bed of one that could outdo the best she can brag of in her Legend. p. 10.

IF he had but Preach'd This Doctrine by his Example, and Practis'd the Counsel that Answer. he Gives, he should never have Hamper'd Himself in the Difficulties, and Non-Sequiturs of This Discourse. Anger misapply'd, is a Fatal Mistake, he says, and he has given us a Long Letter here, in Proof on't: But why does he bid us be [Still] and lye Wrangling himself? Why does he Advise [Quiet] and Create Disquiet?

quiet? How comes he to Prefs Unity, and at the Same Time to raise [Divisions?] Religion, Loyalty, and Laws, are Gay Words; but they have been Apply'd, we know, to the License of the most Atheistical, Rebellious, and Dissolute Times. If his Counsel be General, the Advice of This Clause Overthrows the Drift, and Contradicts the Design of All that Went before; for the Papists are excepted out of the Conditions. If he Restrains it only to the Protestants, What Colour of Right can any One Part of his Majesties Subjects Pretend to, for the Excluding of any Other? He closes the Section with an Allegory upon Midwifry, which I have No Skill in.

Letter.

To conclude, the short Question will be, Whether you will joyn with those who must in the end run the same Fate with you. If Protestants of all sorts, in their Behaviour to one another, have been to blame, they are upon the more equal terms, and for that very reason it is fitter for them now to be reconciled. Our Dis-union is not only a Reproche, but a Danger to us; those who believe in modern Miracles, have more Right, or at least more Excuse, to neglect all Secular Cautions; but for us, it is as justifiable to have no Religion, as wilfully to throw away the Human Means of preserving it. p. 10.

Answer.

Here is indeed, as Short, and as Wild a Question, as a body would Wish, without Any Qualification, either Express'd, or ImPLY'd, for the putting of a man in the way toward a Reasonable Solution. If he had but Confin'd the General Expression of the [Same Fate,] to Matter of Religion, Life, Limb, Liberty, or Estate; or to any other Determinate Point, that a body might have known what to speak to, One might have made a Bolt or a Shaft on't; but to talk of the [Same Fate] at Large: why who knows, but he may Carry it to Election, Reprobation, or What not? And, under favour, it was a Great Oversight in him, to lay the Strefs of the Persuasive upon the Train of the Company, that goes the same Way, rather than upon the Reason of the Thing: Especially Considering, that the Same Argument holds stronger for the Broad Way, than it does for the Narrow. 'Tis true, he Proposes an Union here, which is neither Better, nor Worse, than an Association.

There remains yet One very Extraordinary Point behind, that is not, upon Any Terms, to be Pass'd over without some Animadversion. That is to say, A Resolution upon the Case, betwixt the Comprehensional-Church-of-England-Men, and the Dissenters, as it is Determin'd by the Author of This Letter.

Resolved, That it is as Justifiable to have No Religion, as Willfully to throw away the HUMANE MEANS of Preserving it.

In the First Place, What is That Man's Religion, that is of a Hundred and Fifty Religions, according to the Case here in Hand? Or has That Man Any Religion, or No, that Compounds All These into One?

2ly. Had not a man better be Careless, or Improvident, then Atheistical? and better be Guilty of a Failing in his Duty toward God, in This or That Particular, then of a Blasphemous Defiance of him in the Habit of an Impious Life?

3ly. What does the Author intend by [HUMANE MEANS?] For Conspiracies, Force of Arms, Seditious Practices, and All the Methods of Overturning Governments, fall properly enough under the Classis of [Humane Means.] Now if a man may take the Liberty with This Paper, that the Fathers of the Church do with the Holy Bible, i. e. of Expounding One Text by Another: Here is Anti-Monarchical Doctrine in't; Project of Confederacy; Force of Numbers, and Dint of Calumny; which do all fall Naturally under the Topique of [Humane Means.] The Word [Willfully] (even if the Other Law-words, Advisedly, and Maliciously, had been added to't,) amounts to no more then what is Necessarily Invol'd, and ImPLY'd in the Rest. Now to Conclude; Humane Means for Preserving a Religion, can Operate no further then in Cases where Religion may be Taken away; And I never heard of a Religion yet, that was taken away by Actual Violence. I have now done with the Letter it self; and the Authors Last Words, shall be the Answerers too. I am,

Dear Sir, Your most Affectionate Humble Servant.

IN the Course of This Letter and Answer I have dealt Faithfully in every Particular both of Text and Comment ; but I have somewhat yet more to add upon the Whole Matter, touching the Judgment, Candor, and Design of the Author, together with the Conduct, and Argument of the Paper it self.

The Author Writes himself a Church-of-England-Man, but it must be by a Second Venter then ; for he gives his Orthodox Mother most Bloudy hard Words, even in his Pretended Zeale for the Interest of That Communion. A Papist is his Aversion : And Then he is No Dissenter neither ; for 'tis the Main Drift of his Discourse, to Cluck the Dissenters over to him, and Gather them under his Wing : Only by shewing what he is Not, he gives in some measure to understand what he Is. If one may Judge of his Perswasion, by his Letter, it is an Hundred and Fifty Diversities, of Opinion, Kneaded together according to the Amsterdam Dispensatory, into one Sovereign Composition, under the Nick Name of [PROTESTANT:] So that a Body may say of the Religion of This Pamphlet, as the Wench in the Comedy said of her Bastard, 'Tis the TROUP'S Religion, 'tis the TROUP'S Child ; and there went a great many People to the Making of it. In one Word ; it is a Coalition of so many Nominal Religions into One State-Faction ; for though there may be Conscience in the Particular Opinions, Severally, and Apart ; it is yet Impossible for the Agreement to be any thing but a Confederacy, in the Conjunction ; Tha being the Only Medium wherein they can Unite. As to the Candor of the Writer, and his Design ; It is as Clear as Day, that he has taken up a False Pretence, as well as a False Person ; and that he neither is a Genuine Son of the Church of England, nor a True Friend to't ; for Light and Darkness are not more Contrary One to Another, then his Practice is to his Profession : Infomuch, that his own Words and Works are a Thousand Witnesses against him.

The Church of England, he says, upon the Late Kings Restauration, Sacrificed their Interest to their REVENGE. RIGID PRELATES that kept People at an UNCHARITABLE Distance: STIFF and INEXORABLE to Reasonable Scruples: HAUGHTY, and Govern'd by the Spirit of PERSECUTION. Letter to a Dissenter, p. 7.

Is not This a Gracious Church-of-England-Child now, to talk at This Rate of his own Mother ? And then to shew that he has every Jot as little Reverence for his Civil Parent, as he has for his Ecclesiastical ; take his Papers from End to End, and he has not so much as One Line in 'em that looks kindly upon the Government ; for what's the Drift of them, but to Debauch the Dissenters from their Duty ; to Possess the Multitude with Desperate Positions against the King's Power ; Calumnies against his Administration, and Down-right Slanders upon his Honour and Justice ! To Hair Them out of their Wits, with Croking, and Ill-boding Presages ; Fill their Heads with Enflaming, and Implacable Jealousies, Alarm them with Visionary Dangers ; Stir them up to Outrages, by an Ostentation of their Numbers ; Flatter them into a False Opinion of their Rights and Privileges ! And who but the Mobile, all this while, for the Judges of the Controversie ! What's the Whole Discourse, in fine, but a Lecture of Civil Power betwixt King and People, upon the Text of PROTESTANT and PAPIST ! And in One Word ; A Paradox of Conscience Dodg'd into a Popular Scheme of Government ! But All, under the Pretext still, of a Church of England Letter too ; though Bloud was as much a Church of England Doctor, when he Stole the Crown ; And I would the Resemblance of This Pamphlet did not look like the same Character Assum'd again, for the same End.

This Letter, they say, has made some Proselytes. (as they call them :) but Secret Friends, and Abettors it has, in Abundance, though, most Infalibly, whoever is a Friend to the Intent, and Matter of It, is an Enemy to the True Church of

England, as well as to that of Rome: to the Honour of his Majesty, and to the Peace of his Dominions: And therefore People should do well to Consider the Doctrine and the Bias of This Letter, before they take upon them to Judge of the Merits of it. I reckon it My Duty however, not to let the Scandal of so Undutiful a Practice rest at the Door of the Church of England, if I know how to remove it.

I have one Word more to say yet, upon a Fancy, that has taken People in the Head upon this Occasion: First, That no Church of England man will Answer This Letter. Alv. L' Estrange, of All Others, that has ever been so Bitter, and so Violent against Liberty of Conscience, is the Unfittest Man in Nature, to take upon him to Defend it: In Contradiction to his Toleration Discuss'd, his Observators, and Twenty Pamphlets more upon This Subject. Generals prove Nothing; Beside that they are commonly the Refuge of Shufflers, and Cheats. But I am content however, to put the Matter to This Issue: Let but any man that Charges Mee with such Contradictions, submit to pass for a Fool, if he does not particularly Prove them; and let me Wear the Reputation of a Knave, if (in a Fair and Reasonable Equity of Construction) he makes his Accusation Good.

I have now but One Point more to speak to; And That's the Subject of the King's Power; 'Tis no more then what the Letter Requires, and what I have Promised to do; And in Conclusion, a Right that I Owe, both to the Cause, and to my Word.

The Author of the Letter to a Dissenter has several Dangerous Doctrines and Passages, p. 5, 6, 8, 9. upon the Argument of the King's Prerogative, and the Duty of a Subject. He Questions the King's Late Declaration, in point of Law, p. 5. And lays down for a Maxim, that No Trespas against the Laws in Being, is to be Defended: Though Universal Practice, and Opinion are agreed upon't, that the Obligation of All Humane Laws, is in some sort, Conditional. He makes Addressing of Thanks, upon That Declaration, to be the Giving up of a Right in the Law, p. 6. He supposes the King himself, Doubtful of his own Power, p. 9. He Reatons all he can against the Dispensing Power, and Repealing the Test, p. 8. And he calls Submission to That Declaration, the Setting up of a Power to HELP the People, that will DESTROY them, p. 6.

These Positions are Communicated; in at Least Twenty Thousand Copies perhaps, to his Majesties Subjects, in All Quarters of the Kingdom; and the Doctrine, Fortified with the most Artificial Colours that the Matter will bear. Upon the whole Business, there's Nothing to be done in such a Case as This, but by Encountering Industry with Industry, and Opposing Truth to Error. There will be No Need of a Dismissal, and a Particular Answer to This and That Clause, or Period, but rather to speak to the Whole Question, at Once, in a Clear, and an Efficacious Reply.

TO begin at the Root of the Controversie; The King puts out a Declaration of Indulgence: The Author of the Letter to a Dissenter, Denyes his Dispensing Power; makes the very Acceptance of it Criminal in the Subject; and a Giving up of their Rights; and Positively Pronounces the Law to be so Sacred, that No Trespas against it is to be Defended. It rests now to Prove, that This Doctrine, and Practice is not only Erroneous, and Pernicious, with a Respect to our Present Case, and Constitution, but Utterly Destructive of Humane Society, and of the very Foundations of Government it self. To say nothing how Artificially the Writer of That Letter has Sham'd upon the People his Majesties Act of Grace in favour of the Dissenters, for a Matter Concerted betwixt Them, and the Papists, without which Pretence, the Invidious Part of the Pamphlet falls to the Ground.

Now for the Clearing of This Question, He that would take the Just Measures of the Prerogatives of Power, should properly look back into the Original of Go-

vernment; and from thence Trace the *Wisdom*, and the *Providence* of Almighty God, through the *Means* to the *End*; and through the *Causes* to their *Effects*; There are, 'tis true, Certain *Prerogatives* Peculiar to *This*, or *That* Frame of State and Differing in *One* Place, from what they are in *Another*: But These are of a *Humane* Make, and may be Laid down, as they were Taken up, at pleasure. They are *Local*, *Temporary*, *Personal*, *Conditional*, *Occasional* Privileges perhaps, and nor of the Number of Those *Sacred*, *Unchangeable*, and *Incommunicable* Essentials, that we are here speaking of.

It was the Work of an *Omnipotent* Power, to make the *World* out of *Nothing*; As *Order* was the Work of the *Divine* *Wisdom*, and *Government* consequently, of a *Divine* *Institution*, and *Appointment*. This *Government* was *Ordained* for the *Regulation* of *Men* in *Society*; And *That* *Ordinance* would have been utterly *Vain*, and of No Effect, without a *Competency* of *Powers*, and *Faculties*, for securing of All the *Ends* of it. Now if *Government* it self was immediately from *God*. Those *Eminences* of *Privilege* and *Authority* without which *That* *Primary* *Power* Cannot *Work*, must needs be of *Divine* *Right* too; And *Kings* are to less Answerable to their *Principal*, for the *Maintenance* of the *Power*, with which they are *Entrusted*, then they are for the *Exercise* of it: So that if *Rulers* cannot Depart from These *Fundamentals* of *Government* without Breach of *Faith*; If *Humane* *Laws* shall be found *Insufficient* to Answer all the *Emergencies*, and *Variations* of *Humane* *Affairs*; And if the *Reserve* of a *Power* to *Dispense* with those *Humane* *Laws*, in case of such and such *Exigencies*, shall be likewise found of *Absolute* *Necessity* for the *Support* of *Government*; the *Sum* of the *Question* will be brought into a *Narrow* *Compass*; and no more then *This*: Shall a *Prince*, in favour of an *Imperfect*, *Humane* *Law*, *Dispense* with an *Undispensable* *Duty* to a *Law* *Divine*? And in so doing, *Dispense* with *God's* *Law*, rather then *Dispense* with his *Own*? It is a *Thing* past *Dispute*, that many *Laws* have been *Nullities* in the very *Creation* of them: And it is *Impossible* to make Any *Positive* *Law* of *Man* so *Extensive*, as to Answer All *Circumstances* of *Time*, *Place*, *Condition*, *Change*, or *Occasion*: The *Force* and the *Frequency* of *Over-ruling* *Necessities*, is *Granted* on All *Hands*, and that wherever the *Government* is, there is the *Judgment*. If the *People* may *Judge*, they may *Censure*; If *Censure*, *Punish*; If *Punish*, they *Govern*: And the *Yielding* of *One* *Point* to a *Popular* *Usurpation*, does in Effect, *Tacitly* *Entitle* them to the *Rest*. Neither is there Any other *Limit* set to this *Power*, then the *Honour*, the *Conscience*, and the *Justice* of the *Governer*; For the *Bare* *Admittance*, of a *Check*, or *Contrall*, Implies a *Superiour* *Power*: Men are *Corrupt*, *Frail*, *Short-sighted*, and their *Works*, *Imperfect*. *Vills* may be *Carry'd* by *Passion*, *Interest*, *Power*; and there may be likewise *Inadvertency*, or *Sinister* *Consideration* in the *Passing* of them; but the *Laws* of *Nature*, and of *Equity*, are *Sacred*, and *Certain*; for *That* which *Nature* does, *God* does.

This is Chiefly intended of *Laws* that were *Well* enough, or perhaps, *Excellent* *Provisions*, at the *First* *making* of them; but in *Tract* of *Time*, upon some *Unexpected* *Revolution*; or in such or such a *Case* perchance, may be found *Inconvenient*. These, I say, may be *Suspended*; but then there are *Laws* of *Another* *Sort*, that are *Void*, *ab* *Initio*, and upon *No* *Terms* to be either *Defended*, or *Executed*; As I have *Instanced* formerly somewhat to this *Purpose* in the *Case* of the *Proceedings*, under *Charles* the *First* against the *Papists*. That *Excellent* *Prince*, according to all *Reasonable*, and *Humane* *Presumption*, lost his *Crown*, and his *Life*, in *Complement* to a *Void* *Act* of his *Own*, in pretending to Bar himself the *Use*, and *Service* of his *Subjects*: As if an *Act* of *State* could *Superfede* a *Fundamental* of *God* and *Nature*. I have the *Authority* of a *Great* *Man* (*Bishop* *Sanderfon*) to Back me in the *Casistical* *Streis* of This *Instance*: [*God* (*says* he) hath given to his *Vicegerents* here

here on Earth, a RIGHT In, and a POWER Over the Persons of ALL their Subjects, within their several Respective Dominions, even to the spending of their Lives in their Countries Service; WHENSOEVER they shall be by Their Authority called thereunto, Five Cases, p. 71.] Now if they have These Privileges of RIGHT, and POWER, from GOD; and Extending to ALL, and WHENSOEVER, without Exception, either to Time, Number, or Distinction of Persons: What Earthly Power shall dare to Controll This Commission? And I have One Word more to Offer now (that I have formerly spoken to) which comes a little Closer yet to the Point.

The Precept of [*Honour thy Father and thy Mother*] is undoubtedly of Divine Authority; and a Command, of an Immutable, and Indispensable Obligation: And it has Catholique Assent to't, that it Extends, as well to our Civil, and Political, as to our Natural Parents. By This Law, All Subjects are Bound in Conscience to Attend the Call, and the Service of their Prince; for the Precept is Positive; without Any Qualification, Limitation, or Condition whatsoever. The Question will be Shortly This now; Whether Any King, can by any Act of Civil Authority, Divest himself of This Right, over the Persons of his Subjects? I do not say but he may Chuse whether he will Command them, or Not; but he Cannot Discharge his People of their Duty of Obedience, in case he Requires their Service; That is to say; In any Case, which is not Contrary to the Will, and Word of God. No Humane Law Can Absolve them from That Office of Allegiance: So that in the Conclusion, either Those Subjects are Clear before God, that serve their Prince, when by him thereunto required, notwithstanding any Law of Man to the Contrary; Or the Ten Commandments may be turn'd to Waste Paper; If the Law of the Land shall Forbid upon a Penalty, That which the Law of God, Commands upon a Penalty.

This is enough for my Present Purpose; and if it be not so for Common Satisfaction, My Third Volume of Observations, has Fifty Times as much upon this Subject.

F I N I S.
